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" It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.  
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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Vol. LXXIII. Part III.—ANTHROPOLOGY
AND COGNATE SUBJECTS.

No. 1.—1904.

Some Notes Concerning the People of Mungeli Tehsil, Bilaspore District.
—By REV. E. M. GORDON.

(Continued from the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXI Part 3,
No. 21902.)

B. SOME BELIEFS AND PRACTICES COMMON TO VARIOUS CASTES.

19. *Salt*.—There is a general belief that it is unfortunate to spill salt. One who does this will in Patāl gather up each pinch of salt with his eyelids. It is also considered inadvisable to hand salt to a friend or neighbour in the bare palm of the hand, for this will cause enmity between the parties concerned. Salt is therefore received, not in the bare palm, but in a cloth or vessel. (See "Macedonian Folklore" by G. F. Abbott, page 103.)

20. *Rats' flesh fattening*.—The eating of rats' flesh is a common practice amongst the children of the lower castes. Since the pastime of children is often the remains of the earnest life-work of adults in an earlier stage of culture, this practice of eating rats seems to point back to the time when rats formed a staple article of food amongst the people. Even now, in times of scarcity, the people of the district have

been known to live on field rats when they were obtainable. I am told that rats' flesh is considered fattening and is given to emaciated children and to cattle in order that they may put on flesh.

21. *Horses and the monkey.*—"Ghorā kā rog bandar men jāe." This saying appears to have originated in the belief that if a monkey is tied in the stable of a horse, any disease which may be likely to attack the horse, will go to the monkey instead. The saying is now repeated when one person has to suffer for the offences of another. It may be that in time this practice will be discontinued and forgotten and the saying will still be current and will arouse questions as to its origin.

22. *Owls.*—These birds are known as the priest of the witches. "Tonhi kā guru." They are considered extremely unlucky birds and are associated in the minds of the people with misfortune and death. It is considered inadvisable to call aloud at night to anyone by name. The owl will hear the name called and will take to calling that name till the person sickens and dies. A clod of earth or a stone is never thrown at an owl, for it is believed that the owl will take up the stone and drop it in some stream; and as the earth or the stone dissolves in the water, the person who threw it will go into a decline and will die.

23. *Whirlwinds.*—These phenomena are supposed to be caused by *bhuts* or evil spirits. I have also heard them called "a knot in the wind." Tylor has truly said—"What is poetry to us was philosophy to early man."

24. *Small-pox, etc.*—Diseases of this group are all associated with the Mātā or Mother, the Devi or goddess of these diseases. Those who have been attacked by the disease, and have recovered, are said to have been wedded by the Mātā. "Mātā us ko bihāyā hai." It seems probable that this expression arose from the resemblance of one attacked by the disease to the bride or bridegroom covered with turmeric and oil during the marriage ceremony.

25. *The horned kettle-drum.*—Amongst the numerous musical instruments used in this district is the Nishān or the horned kettle-drum, which is largely, if not entirely, used in marriage processions. It has two long deer horns attached to it on either side. The drum hangs in front from the waist. It has the usual shape of a kettle-drum. To the metallic portion are attached the horns which are often decorated with long strips of coloured cloth. Some time ago I saw a drum which was brought from the Nāgā country. It was made of human skulls. Having previously seen this form of drum I was led to think that the horns attached to the kettle-drum in this district are but a "survival in culture" reminding us of the time when drums were made by stretching skins over the skulls of deer with the horns intact. The

original skull has now been replaced by the more durable metallic portion, while the "law of copy" has continued the horns as ornamental. I have seen a drum in which for some reason the horns were replaced by long pieces of iron. Possibly in time the horns may be entirely forgotten and the long iron projections on a drum will be the only remains of a drum originally made from the skull of a deer.

26. *The mark of the hand.*—"Hāthā denā" is the term applied to the mark made by the out-stretched palm of the hand. (a) The agricultural cart of the district is known as the gārā. It is made of solid wooden wheels, with no spokes, and is well adapted for crossing the fields and embankments. During the rainy season these carts are taken to pieces and are put together at the close of the wet months. When the gārā is put together for use after the rainy season, it is sometimes bathed in milk for good luck, but almost always the wheels are marked with the impress of the hand dipped in oil. I once met a cart on the roadside which had come to grief, and the driver sat disconsolate with the bags of grain lying around him on every side. I asked if the owner of the cart had "hāthā diyā" when he put the cart together, and the reply was that he had not, and this was believed to be the cause of the misfortune. (b) Before the birth of a child it is also usual for the nurse in attendance to dip her hand in oil and make an impression on the wall, and it is supposed by the way the oil trickles down, that she can tell whether the new comer will be a boy or a girl. (c) During a festival towards the end of the year, it is the practice of the women of the herdsmen (the Rāwats) to go to each house in the village and with red and white paint to make a mark on the wall which bears a faint resemblance to a hand. I doubt, however, if the resemblance could be seen except by one who had heard that the mark on the wall is called a "hāthā." Schoolcraft says: "The figure of the human hand is used by the North American Indians to denote supplication to the Deity or Great Spirit, and it stands in the system of picture-writing as the symbol for strength, power, or mastery thus derived." On the same subject, Sir Daniel Wilson says that, "Among an interesting collection of mummies recovered by Mr. J. H. Blake, of Boston, from ancient Peruvian cemeteries on the Bay of Chacoata, one is the body of a female wrapped in parti-coloured garments of fine texture and marked on the outer woollen wrappings with the impress of the hand. The same impress of the red hand is common on Peruvian mummies."

27. *Threshing floor practices.*—It is considered unlucky for one who has ridden on an elephant to enter a threshing-floor, and on the other hand if one who has ridden on a tiger should enter he will bring good luck. The Gonds and Bhuniyās, who may capture a young tiger, will

lead it around the country amongst the agricultural people, who pay a small fee to have their children placed on the tiger. To enter a threshing-floor with shod feet is also considered unlucky. When the grain has been threshed and is awaiting measurement, some branches of the Baer tree (*Zizyphus vulgaris*) is placed on the stacked grain in order to keep off the Matiyā or goblin who takes away the grain and makes it measure less than was expected. Grain is never measured at noon in the threshing-floor but usually at the morning and evening hours.

28. *Close relationships.*—It is considered highly improbable that there will be immoral relationship between those who are closely related. Public opinion on this subject is such that it is considered improper for a man to marry a woman who bears the name of his mother, sister, aunt, etc. In fact, I think that on no account would a marriage be arranged between those who bear the names of near relatives. Parents names are never given to children.

29. *Taboo as to days and months.*—The Hindus will not shave themselves on certain days. Others observe not the days but the dates in this particular. During the fifteen days of the pitra pāk or the fortnight of the Manes, a Hindu will never be shaved. A woman will not put on new bangles during this same period. In the month of Jeth, May-June, it is against the custom of the people in these parts to perform the marriage ceremony of a firstborn son, the Jeth putr. A pundit tells me that the restriction applies only when a Jeth putr is wedded to a Jeth putri. But the common people have narrowed down the restriction and make it apply to the marriage of every firstborn son, whether married to a firstborn daughter or not. This self-imposed restriction of the people reminds one of the restriction placed on themselves by the Jews. They were forbidden by the Law to give more than forty stripes, but they thought it desirable to stop short of the full number in order to avoid exceeding it, and hence gave "forty stripes save one."

30. *Pāch lakriyā (five sticks): a funeral practice.*—There is a custom amongst those who bury their dead known as pāch lakriyā. From the name it is undoubtedly originally connected with the practice of cremation. When the grave has been filled in and the mound has been made to mark the spot, those who are present at the burial each make five small balls of earth and place them all in a heap at the head of the grave. While doing this they address the deceased and say, "Jāo, mājhi ke kok meṃ avatār leo." This being interpreted means: "Go, become incarnate in some human being." Regarding the pāch lakriyā practice it should be noted that it is stated that originally it was the

practice of those who attended a cremation to take with them five sticks to place on the funeral pile; this practice seems to have disappeared and the only remains of it, in these parts, seems to be this custom at a burial of making balls of earth and calling them the five sticks.

It is considered meritorious to assist in a burial, and there is a saying that if one could bury a hundred persons, all by himself, he would be made a *rājā* in the next birth. Another interesting custom in connection with burials is that which is known as "*kāṇdh utārnā*" (*kāṇdh*, meaning shoulder). Those who have carried a bier, after the funeral, each take a clod of earth and with this they will touch first the shoulder, where the bier rested, next the waist, then the knee, and finally drop the clod to the ground. They suppose that by so doing they remove from the shoulder the weight of the corpse which would otherwise be felt for some time.

31. *Pitra pāk or the fortnight of the Manes.*—During the fortnight of the Manes there are two days set apart for the coming of the deceased. The Manes are supposed to visit the homes of their relatives on the date of their decease, i.e., if a father died on the third of any month in the year he will be expected on the third day of the fortnight of Manes. The women all come on the ninth day of the fortnight, and on the thirteenth come all those who have met with a violent death—by a fall, snake bite, or any other such cause. A monitor, in one of my schools, once asked for a day's leave. On inquiry I learnt that it was the ninth and he was expecting his mother, long since dead, to visit his home that day. In order to perform some ceremony he was asking for leave of absence.

32. *The howling of dogs.*—The weird, unearthly noises made by dogs, especially at night, are attributed to the animals seeing ghosts and evil spirits invisible to man. It is interesting to note that Bachelor in his very entertaining work on the "*Ainu of Japan*" says that this same belief is prevalent amongst that distant and primitive people. Amongst them, however, this belief appears to have had a further development, for they do not only say that dogs of this world see the inhabitants of the next, but that the dogs of the next world howl on seeing the inhabitants of the earth. It may be noted, just here, that in two other particulars I noticed a resemblance between the Ainu and the Hindus. They follow their dead in single file to the burial, and the widows have their heads entirely shaved just as they do in India.

33. *Sadhouri, a birth practice.*—Before the birth of the firstborn child, at the seventh month (?) it is customary for the women's nearest relatives to prepare some specially tasty dishes and bring them to the house of the woman who is expecting that she may partake of them.

The more wealthy will bring along pieces of clothing also, and these will be presented to the woman. On the birth of the child, the parents will make gifts of clothing to those who gave them in the first place. The food brought at this time to the woman who is expecting is called the "sadhouri." I am told that this word is connected with the word "sādh" (meaning desire) and may have some connection with the longing of the pregnant woman for certain kinds of food.

34. *The Gourd*, or the calabash, is used in many different ways. Frequently it is seen as part of the simple fiddle or other stringed instrument. It is also in use as a water-vessel; some are large and measure a foot in diameter, others are small and can be tied to the waist for a long journey. Some gourds are used as floats in the flooded streams.

There is also the gourd rattle, small in size and filled with seeds or pebbles; this is shaken in the hand in certain exorcising rites. Tylor in his "Primitive Culture" more than once refers to the gourd rattle used in Africa for divining and exorcising purposes.

35. *Position in burial.*—When the Hindus bury their dead they place the body of a man with the face downwards, whereas a woman is buried with the face upwards. In a work on Stanley in Africa I remember reading of a certain people in that country who bury their men placed on the left side, while the women are placed on the right side in the grave.

36. *The Tijā or the women's fast.*—This takes place on the third day of the light half of the moon, in the lunar month of Bhādor, corresponding with our Aug.-Sept. It is very widely observed by women only. On this date and during the following night the women will keep a strict fast. They make images of sand of Māhādev and Pārbati and worship these images, for it is in remembrance of Pārbati's fast in the forest that the festival is observed. It is said that Pārbati's father, Himāchal, wished her to marry some one besides her own chosen Māhādev, and she went away to the forest and there made an image of her lover, Māhādev, and worshipped it. Māhādev found her worshipping his image made of sand, and he then decreed that all women, for all time, should fast on that day in memory of Pārbati's fast; and the women who did not fast, should be barren throughout seven successive incarnations.

37. *Sacrifice to Rāt Māi, the Night Mother.*—Of the many sacrifices required of the Hindus this one seems to me the most striking and remarkable. It is confined, I think, to the low caste Hindus and is spoken of with contempt by the Brāhmans. It is observed in connection with the firstborn only. It is made about a year after the birth of a son who is the firstborn son of a father, who must himself have been an

eldest son. The sacrifice takes place once only in each generation. Only the members of the family are present. They fast for the previous day and the sacrifice takes place at night. A hole is dug in the house near the main entrance to one side. The sacrifice is a black goat, but amongst the Gonds or Ghassias, a pig. After the animal for sacrifice has once entered the door of the house it must not go out again nor must any portion of the sacrifice be taken out. Daughters who are married into other families may not take part in the sacrifice, but girls of other families who are married into this one, may take part. The animal is slain in the house at night, it is cooked and eaten, and all the refuse portion is buried in the hole previously dug. The points of resemblance between this sacrifice and the Jewish passover are somewhat striking.

C. FOLK-TALE AND FABLE.

The Story of Īr, Bir, Dau and I.

1. Īr kahis chal bāṅs kâte, Bir kahis chal bāṅs kâte, Dau kahis chal bāṅs kâte, hamuṇ kahen chal bāṅs kâte.

Īr said come let's cut bamboos, Bir said come let's cut bamboos, Dau said come let's cut bamboos, I said come let's cut bamboos.

2. Īr kātis ĩr bāṅs, Bir kātis bĭr bāṅs, Dau kātis tin bāṅs, ham kāten kanai.

Īr cut one bamboo, Bir cut two bamboos, Dau cut three bamboos, I cut small bamboo.

3. Īr kahis chal gulel banāi, Bir kahis chal gulel banāi, Dau kahis chal gulel banāi, hamuṇ kahen chal gulel banāi.

Īr said come make a gulel (pellet bow), Bir said come make a gulel, Dau said come make a gulel, I said come make a gulel.

4. Īr banāis ĩr gulel, Bir banāis bĭr gulel, Dau banāis tin gulel, ham banāin guleliā.

Īr made one gulel, Bir made two gulels, Dau made three gulels, I made a small gulel.

5. Īr kahis chal chirāi māre, Bir kahis chal chirāi māre, Dau kahis chal chirāi māre, hamuṇ kahen chal chirāi māre.

Īr said come kill a bird, Bir said come kill a bird, Dau said come kill a bird, I said come kill a bird.

6. Īr mārīs ĩr chirāi, Bir mārīs bĭr chirāi, Dau mārīs tin chirāi, Ham mārēn litia.

Īr killed one bird, Bir killed two birds, Dau killed three birds, I killed a litia (a small black bird).

7. Īr kahis chal chhenā bine, Bir kahis chal chenā bine, Dau kahis chal chhenā bine, hamuṇ kahen chal chhenā bine.

Ir said come gather fuel (lit. cow-dung cake), Bir said come gather fuel, Dau said come gather fuel, I said come gather fuel.

8. Ir binis ir chhenā, Bir binin bir chhenā, Dau binis tin chhenā, ham binin kaṇḍoṇ.

Ir gathered one fuel-cake, Bir gathered two fuel-cakes, Dau gathered three fuel-cakes, I gathered a small cake.

9. Ir kahis chal chirāi bhuṇje, Bir kahis chal chirāi bhuṇje, Dau kahis chal chirāi bhuṇje, hamuṇ kahen chal chirāi bhuṇje.

Ir said come broil the bird, Bir said come broil the bird, Dau said come broil the bird, I said come broil the bird.

10. Ir bhuṇjis ir chirāi, Dau bhuṇjis bir chirāi, Dau bhuṇjis tin chirāi, ham bhuṇjin litia. (Jarke athkā baṛ bāchis).

Ir broiled one bird, Bir broiled two birds, Dau broiled three birds, I broiled a small bird: it was burnt and so much remained (here a gesture is made with the finger to indicate a small quantity).

11. Ir kahis chal piḍhwā lāye, Bir kahis chal piḍhwā lāye, Dau kahis chal piḍhwā lāye, hamuṇ kahen chal piḍhwā lāye.

Ir said come fetch a stool, Bir said come fetch a stool, Dau said come fetch a stool, I said come fetch a stool.

12. Ir lānis ir piḍhwā, Bir lānis bir piḍhwā, Dau lānis tin piḍhwā, ham baite waisnech.

Ir he brought one stool, Bir he brought two stools, Dau he brought three stools, I sat just so.

13. Ir kahis chal chirāi khāi, Bir kahis chal chirāi khāi, Dau kahis chal chirāi khāi, hamuṇ kahin chal chirāi khāi.

Ir said come eat the bird, Bir said come eat the bird, Dau said come eat the bird, I said come eat the birdie.

14. Ir khāis ir chirāi, Bir khāis bir chirāi, Dau khāis tin chirāi, ham khāyen litia.

Ir ate one bird, Bir ate two birds, Dau ate three birds, I ate the litia.

15. Ir kahis chal ghoṛā lihe, Bir kahis chal ghoṛā lihe, Dau kahis chal ghoṛ lihe, hamuṇ kahen chal ghoṛā lihe.

Ir said come buy a horse, Bir said come buy a horse, Dau said come buy a horse, I said come buy a horse.

16. Ir leis ir ghoṛā, Bir leis bir ghoṛā, Dau leis tin ghoṛā, ham leyan gadahi.

Ir he bought one horse Bir he bought two horses, Dau he bought three horses, I bought a she-ass.

17. Ir kahis chal ghoṛā pahatāi, Bir kahis chal ghoṛā pahatāi, Dau kahis chal ghoṛā pahatāi, hamuṇ kahen chal gadahi pahatāi.

Ir said come race my horse, Bir said come race my horse, Dau said come race my horse, I said come race my ass.

18. *Ir pahatāis ir ghorā, Bir pahatāis bir ghorā, Dau pahatāis tin ghorā ham pahatāin gadahī.*

Ir galloped one horse, Bir galloped two horses, Dau galloped three horses, I galloped the ass.

19. *Ir kahis chal pāni piyae, Bir kahis chal pāni piyae, Dau kahis chal pāni piyae, hamuṇ kahen chal pāni piyae.*

Ir said come now to water, Bir said come now to water, Dau said come now to water, I said come now to water.

20. *Ir gais ir dabari, Bir gais bir dabari, Dau gais tin dabari, ham gayen gadahī dabari. Temā, hamār gadahī satakage.*

Ir went to one pond, Bir went to another (lit. two) pond, Dau went to a third pond, I went to ass-pond—in which my ass became entangled.

21. *Ir ke ghorā hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, Bir ke ghorā hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, Dau ke ghorā hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, hamār gadahī chipoṇ, chipoṇ.*

Ir's horse cried hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ; Bir's horse cried hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ; Dau's horse cried hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ, hoṇ; my ass cried chipoṇ, chipoṇ.

22. *Ir kahis chal āmā khāye, Bir kahis chal āmā khāye, Dau kahis chal āmā khāye, hamuṇ kahēn chal āmā khāye.*

Ir said come let's eat mangoes, Bir said come let's eat mangoes, Dau said come let's eat mangoes, I said come let's eat mangoes.

23. *Ir khāis ir āmā, Biir khāis bir āmā, Dau khāis tin āmā, ham khāyen kochalaiyā, pahuchage gosaiyā.*

Ir ate one mango, Bir ate two mangoes, Dau ate three mangoes, I ate small mango, then came the gardener.

24. *Ir lā māris ir lāthi. Bir lā māris bir lāthi, Dau lā māris tin lāthi, ham gayen bochakaiyā.*

Ir was beaten one stripe, Bir was beaten two stripes, Dau was beaten three stripes, I came off scot-free.

THE STORY OF MĀHĀDEO AND THE JACKAL.

[The writer of these lines was at one time travelling at night across country accompanied by some villagers when the cry of the jackal was heard in the distance. One of the villagers remarked, "There's Māhādeo's Watchman." On inquiring as to why the jackal was called Māhādeo's watchman, the villager narrated the following story, which appears to be very widely known in the Mungeli Tehsil.]

Once upon a time the elephant and the jackal made a covenant of friendship. They agreed to go out together in search of pasture. The elephant told the jackal to mount his back and look around in search of something to eat. The jackal spied a sugarcane field from the elephant's back and they both resorted thither to have a feed. The jackal having a small stomach was soon satisfied; so he said to the elephant,

"Friend, I am thirsty, let us go in search of water." The elephant replied, that his stomach being large, he had only begun his meal, but he told the jackal to again mount his back and look around if he saw cranes flying, for where the cranes went there would surely be water. The jackal replied, "Friend, I can see no cranes and I am dying of thirst. I must have a drink." Then said the elephant, "In my stomach there is always water enough to satisfy you: if you enter my stomach you may drink as much as you please, but first promise me one thing—promise me that you will not look upwards, while you are inside of me." The jackal promised faithfully to do as he was told, to have his drink inside the elephant and to come out without looking upwards. The elephant then allowed his friend, the jackal, to enter his stomach by his mouth, and the jackal quenched his thirst. Before coming out, however, he thought, "Why should the elephant tell me not to look upwards?" He was so overcome with curiosity that he looked up to see what was above him. There he saw the elephant's liver and heart and other organs all covered with blood and very tasty in appearance for a jackal. He then thought to himself, "Here is water and here is food for many days, why should I leave so good a place and go wandering over the country in search of my food?" So the jackal took up his abode inside the elephant and ate and drank every day as much as it pleased him. In time the elephant sickened and died, for the jackal was daily eating away his inside. When the elephant died the jackal was entrapped in his carcass which dried and shrank in around him. The jackal then found himself in a sad plight and loudly he cried for some one to help him to get out. Now it so happened that Māhādeo and his wife, Pārbati, descended from heaven to walk on the earth, and in their wandering they came near to the carcass of the elephant in which the fox was entrapped. On hearing the cries inside the elephant, Māhādeo drew near and asked who it was that was making a noise inside. The jackal replied, "Who are you that question me?" Māhādeo then said, "I am the great god Māhādeo, but who are you?" The jackal replied that he was Sahādeo, the father of Māhādeo. The jackal then said to Māhādeo, "If you are really and truly the great god Māhādeo, now you will show your power by causing a heavy shower of rain." Māhādeo then caused it to rain in torrents, and the rain fell as it never had fallen before. Because of the damp and the moisture the hide of the elephant began to swell, and thus the jackal was able to make his escape. Māhādeo then took an oath that he would avenge himself of the jackal for this act of deception.

After some time Māhādeo learned the place when the jackal used to go to the river to drink, and he hid himself in the water that he

might lay hold of him when he came for his daily drink. When the jackal was drinking at the stream then Māhādeo lay hold of one of his legs and drew him into the river and tried to drown him, but the jackal cried aloud to Māhādeo that he had not laid hold of his leg but that he was holding the root of a tree. Māhādeo then let go the jackal's leg and the jackal made his escape, and so he deceived Māhādeo the second time.

Again Māhādeo determined to seize the jackal, and this time he feigned himself dead and lay like a corpse where the jackal would be sure to see him. The jackal came near him, but first he wished to make sure that he was dead. So he said aloud that a corpse recently dead passes flatus, but this corpse had passed no flatus. Māhādeo hearing this allowed gas to escape, and the jackal ran off saying, "Oh, you are no corpse and you will not deceive me."

After a time Māhādeo hit upon another device of catching the jackal. He made a large figure like that of a woman, all of bees-wax. In the hands of this figure he placed a basket of sweets such as children like, and inside the figure of wax he placed a weaver's spinning wheel, so that the arms of the figure might work back and forth as controlled by Māhādeo at a distance. When the jackal came near he thought the figure of wax was an old woman with a basket of sweets in her hands. So the jackal came nearer still and tried to steal the sweets from the woman, but when he came within striking distance the figure struck him with one arm and then with the other, so that the jackal was covered with wax and stuck to the figure; then Māhādeo came near and laid hands on the jackal and made him his prisoner. The jackal was kept bound in Māhādeo's yard, and every morning and evening Māhādeo would go to the jackal and give him a sound thrashing. This he did for many days, and the jackal in consequence became greatly swollen in appearance. One day a strange jackal came into Māhādeo's yard, and seeing the bound jackal so fleshy in appearance, he asked what he was given to eat that he should be so fat. The jackal who was bound began to praise Māhādeo and his treatment of him. He did this to such an extent that the strange jackal became desirous of trying Māhādeo's hospitality. Then the imprisoned jackal offered to exchange places with the stranger. With his help the one jackal was set free and the new one was bound in his place. In the morning Māhādeo came as usual to beat the jackal he had bound. The strange jackal instead of getting good food as he expected was given a severe beating. He thought he would wait till evening and then he would get his meal. But when evening came Māhādeo again approached him with a stick and was about to beat him when he asked Māhādeo about the good food and the good treatment of which the

other jackal had told him. Then only did Māhādeo know that the jackal which had deceived him so often had deceived him once again. So he gave the strange jackal his freedom and told him, "You go now and be my pāhārādār or watchman, and I must hear your voice in the night keeping watch for me." From that time forth the jackal has been Māhādeo's watchman.

THE LITTLE BLACK-BIRD.

There was once a little black-bird (the litia) who was the proud owner of three *kauries*. This bird used to come to a king and repeatedly say, "I have three *kauries*, O king, I have three *kauries*, O king." The king was so much annoyed by the continual chirping of the little bird that he ordered his servants to take the three *kauries* from the bird and to drive it away. But the bird would not leave the king and so it began to say, "My wealth has made you rich, O king, my wealth has made you rich, O king." The king then ordered that the three *kauries* should be returned to the little black-bird. The bird then took the three *kauries* and went to the seller of parched grain and with the three *kauries* she bought three grains of parched gram; taking the gram the bird flew off and sat on a new cart which a carpenter was making, and there she was eating the gram. Having eaten two grains she was about to eat the third, when it dropped from her beak and fell into a joint of the new cart where she could not get at it. In great distress she appealed to the carpenter to take to pieces his cart that she might get at the grain she had lost. "You silly little thing," said the carpenter, "do you suppose I am going to take to pieces my new cart to get at a single grain which you have dropped into the joint of the wood-work. The little black-bird then went to the king and said to him that she had lost her grain, and asked him to order the carpenter to open up his cart that she may get at her grain. "You silly little thing," said the king, "do you suppose I am going to order the carpenter to open his cart that you may get one small grain." The little black-bird then went to the queen and begged of her to persuade the king to order the carpenter to open the cart to let her get at the grain. But the queen also said "Get away, you silly little thing." Then the little black-bird went to a deer and said, "Come, O deer, I wish you to graze in the queen's garden, for she will not persuade the king, and the king will not order the carpenter, and the carpenter will not open the cart, and I cannot get at my grain." But the deer would give no heed to the bird and called her: "You silly little thing." Then said the bird, "I will go to the *lathi*" (the strong stout stick). And to the *lathi* she went and said, "Come, stout stick, strike the deer: for the deer will not graze in the queen's gar-

den, and the queen will not persuade the king, and the king will not command the carpenter, and the carpenter will not open his cart, and I cannot get at my grain. But the stick also would give no ear to the cry of the little black-bird, so she went at once to the fire; and she begged the fire to burn the stick, for the stick would not beat the deer, and the deer would not eat the queen's garden, and the queen would not persuade the king, the king would not command the carpenter, the carpenter would not break up his cart, and she could not get at her grain. But the fire also made light of the little bird's prayer; so she went next to the lake and implored the lake to quench the fire, for the fire would not burn the stick, and the stick would not strike the deer and the deer would not destroy the garden, and the queen would not persuade the king, and the king refused to command the carpenter, who also refused to open up his cart, so that the bird could not get at her grain. But the lake refused to help the bird. She then went to a place where there were thousands of rats, and to the rats she presented her prayer that they should come and fill the lake with their diggings, for the lake would not quench the fire, etc., etc. But the rats also gave no attention to the wishes of the small black-bird. Then the bird went to a cat, and of the cat she implored that she should attack the rats, for the rats would not fill in the lake, and the lake would not quench the fire, etc., and she could not get at her grain. But the cat also was deaf to the prayers of the small black-bird. Then she went to the elephant, and of the elephant she implored that he would crush the cat, for the cat would not kill the rats, etc., etc., and she could not get at her grain. But the elephant treated her as did all the others. Then she went to an ant and begged the wee ant to crawl into the elephant's ear, for the elephant would not crush the cat, etc., etc., and she could not get at her grain. But the ant also gave no heed to her prayer. Then at last she came to the crow, the most greedy of all creatures, and of the crow she begged that he should eat the ant; from sheer greed the crow consented to eat the ant; but the ant seeing the crow about to eat it went to crawl into the ear of the elephant; and the elephant fearing the harm which the ant could do him went to crush the cat; but the cat slipped away and was about to destroy the rats, and they at once began to fill in the lake; and the lake becoming alarmed was about to quench the fire, when the fire began to burn the stick, and the stick began to beat the deer, so that the deer was about to destroy the queen's garden, when the queen began to persuade the king, and so the king commanded the carpenter, and the carpenter opened up his new cart; and the little black-bird found her grain and happily taking it up she flew away and quietly enjoyed her repast and lived very happily ever after.

THE DEER AND THE JACKAL.

Once upon a time a deer and a jackal went to a well to drink. The jackal said to the deer, "Friend, I will first go down and have a drink and afterwards you may drink also." So the deer held the jackal by the tail while he hung over in the well and quenched his thirst. When it was the deer's turn to drink, the jackal held him by the tail, and while he leaned over to drink, the jackal pushed him over into the water. Close by there were some men harvesting peas, so the jackal called aloud to them that there was a deer fallen in the well, and the men all hastened to look into the well. On seeing the deer in the well the men set to and hauled out the dead body of the deer. They then took it away to a short distance and began to cut it to pieces. Just then the jackal came on the scene and said to the men: "Friends, will you not give me some of the meat also?" But the men replied that they had taken out the deer with great difficulty, and they refused to give the jackal a portion of the flesh of the deer. The jackal repeatedly begged of them for a portion, but the men positively refused to share the meat with the jackal. Then said the jackal to the men, "If you cannot give me meat, you can at least oblige me with a few sparks of fire." The men then handed him the fire. The jackal taking the fire set ablaze the stacks of peas which the men had been harvesting. The men, in great alarm, left the deer which they were dividing between themselves and came to save their burning stacks of peas. The jackal then helped himself to as much of the deer as he pleased, and he ran away laughing at the stupidity of the foolish men who refused to share with him the flesh of the deer.

THE LOUSE AND THE CROW.

Once a louse and a crow made a covenant of friendship. The louse said to the crow, "Go, friend and bring me some fire." So the crow brought his friend, the louse, some fire. Then said the louse, "Now, friend, I will broil and eat you." The crow replied, "If I strike you once with my beak you will disappear: how then can you talk of eating me?" But the louse broiled and ate his friend, the crow. Passing on the louse came across a loaf of bread which a man was cooking on the fire. Then said the louse to the loaf of bread, "I will eat you, my friend." But the bread replied that the louse would be scorched in the fire, and how could he eat the bread. But the louse ate the bread also. Passing on the louse met a she-goat. To the goat he said, "I am about to feast on you." The goat replied that if she would trample on the louse he would be reduced to nothing. The louse replied that he had eaten the crow and the loaf of bread, and he could eat the goat also. And he

quickly finished the goat. Passing on the louse met a cow. To the cow he said, "I am about to eat you, O cow." But the cow replied, "If I trample you under foot you will be reduced to nothing." The louse said, "If I have eaten the crow and the bread and the goat, what then can hinder me from eating you." So he ate the cow also. Passing on the louse met a buffalo. To the buffalo the louse said, "I will eat you also." But the buffalo replied, "I have but to trod on you and you will be nowhere." Then the louse ate the buffalo also. The louse next met five strong sepoy. To the sepoy the louse said, "I am about to eat you five men." The sepoy replied, "You will lose yourself in the head of but one of us, and here you speak of feasting on us five warriors." But true to his word the louse ate the five sepoy. Next the louse met a wedding procession in which there were one lakh of people. Addressing them, the louse said that he would eat them. The men replied that the louse would be lost in the head of but one man, and how then could he speak of eating a lakh of people. But the louse replied that he had eaten first the crow, then the loaf, then the goat and the cow and the buffalo and the five sepoy, and he would certainly eat the lakh of people in the procession; and he quickly devoured the whole number. Next the louse came upon an elephant, and to the elephant the louse said, "I will eat you in no time." The elephant replied that he could blow away the louse with but one puff of breath from his trunk. The louse then related how he had eaten the crow, the loaf, etc., etc., and accordingly he ate the elephant also. Now the louse being thirsty came across a huge tank of water. Said the louse to the tank, "I am about to drink in all of your water." The tank replied that the louse would be washed away with but one wave from the waters of the tank, and how then could he talk of drinking in the waters of the tank. The louse again proceeded to narrate how he had eaten the crow, the loaf, the goat, etc., etc., and the louse then drank in all the waters of the tank. Now it so happened that some women come as usual to fill the vessels of water at the tank, and to their great astonishment they found that the waters had disappeared. While they were looking around one of the women who had but one eye spied on the bank of the tank a small shining object which proved to be the louse. Said the woman, "This surely is the creature which has drunk the waters of our tank." Just then a strong sepoy came along to have a drink at the tank. The women showed him the louse which had taken up all the water. This strong warrior immediately drew his sharp sword and with one stroke he cut in two the greedy louse. Immediately the crow appeared, and the loaf, and the goat, the cow, the buffalo, the five men, the one lakh of people, the elephant also and the waters of the tank. Each of these went to their respective places, and the women

after thanking the brave sepoy who had befriended them, filled their water-pots as usual and went to their homes.

THE TIGER AND THE BARBER.

A barber was at one time going through a jungle and he had with him nothing but the implements of his trade. Not knowing how to save his life he quickly devised the following scheme. Taking out his small looking-glass he boldly went up to the tiger and held up the glass before the tiger. Addressing this wild beast he said, "I have promised the king to slay twelve tigers and have accepted trust-money for this task. Now I have found only two tigers (meaning the real tiger and its reflection in the glass): can you direct me to ten more." Hearing this the tiger was so alarmed that he quickly disappeared thinking that the barber was truly a tiger-slayer. Thus by his cunning the barber saved his life.

THE PILĀ AND THE PILI.

Once upon a time a Pilā, a large grain measure, had a quarrel with the Pili, a small grain measure, and the Pilā beat the Pili so that the Pili ran away from her husband in a temper. When the Pili was on the road-side she met a crow seated in a nim tree. The crow said to the Pili, "Where are you going to, Oh Pili." The Pili replied that her husband, the Pilā, had beaten her, and she was running away from him. Said the crow, "Well, come and stay with me: do not go away in anger." The Pili replied, "What will you give me to eat and what to drink, what to wear and what to spread?" The crow replied, "I will place one wing under you and the other above, and the food left over by others I will bring you to eat." But the Pili said she would not stay, and so saying she went on her way. On the side of a tank the Pili met a Bagulā, and the Bagulā also begged her to remain with him. The Pili said to him, "What will you give to eat, what to drink, what to wear, and what to spread?" Said the Bagulā, "I will place one wing below you and the other above, and I will feed you with fishes." But the Pili would not stay with the Bagulā and went on her way. Next the Pili came to a place where a Rājā was holding his Durbar. Then the Rājā asked of her, "Where are you going to, O Pili?" The Pili replied, "The Pila beat me so. I am going away in a temper." But the Rājā begged of her to remain with him. The Pili asked him what she would get to eat and what to drink, what to wear, and what to spread. The Rājā said, "I will place one cushion below you and one above, and whatsoever you desire you may have to eat." But the Pili refused to stay with the Rājā. As she went on her way she met a dog coming from the

river after having had a bath. The dog said, "Where are you going to, O Pili," and the Pili replied that the Pila had beaten her and she was going away from him in a temper. Then the dog also asked the Pili to stay with him and the Pili said, "What will you give me to eat and what to drink, what to wear and what to spread." The dog replied that in the Rājā's store there was a quantity of *gur* (raw sugar), and they would eat from that as much as they pleased. Then the Pili consented to stay with the dog. And they both lived in the Rājā's store-house. One day the Rājā sent his daughter to bring *gur* from his store. So the daughter taking the scales and weights went to the store to fetch the *gur*. First she threw the scales into the store and was about to follow herself, but the scales struck the dog on the head and the Pili jumped out saying:—

Lim bharābhar kauwā chhārev,
Tāl bharābhar bagulā,
Hai re mor buchā kukur,
Paseri mur kuchā.

On the nim tree I left the crow,
On the tank I left the bagulā,
Oh now my wounded dog, !
The weights have crushed your
head.

THE STORY OF BAHURĀ, THE COW.

Once upon a time there was a great king named Rājā Chandrāgetu. He had a herd of one thousand cows, and amongst these was one which was the best of them all named Bahurā. This cow was large and beautiful to behold, and she gave milk continually without ever ceasing. One day the herd of cows was out grazing when the great cow Bahurā became separated from the rest and wandered away into the cave of a tiger. Just then the tiger came out of his den and was greatly delighted at seeing so delicious a feast awaiting him. Addressing the cow he told her to prepare to die, for he was about to feast on her. The cow Bahurā begged of the tiger not to commit so great a sin as to kill a cow, but the tiger replied that since she must die at some time, why should she object to becoming a portion of so great a being as a tiger. The cow then said to the tiger that since he was determined to eat her, she asked his permission to go and see her young calf to whom she had not yet given milk, and after once feeding the calf she would return to the den and allow herself to be eaten. The tiger laughed at the cow and asked her if she thought that he was going to let so sweet a morsel get away from him. Again the cow begged of the tiger and took a vow that if she should not return, the curse that comes on one who kills a Brāhman should come on her. Again she vowed that if she did not return the unhappiness which that woman has who knows that her husband loves someone better than herself would be hers. The tiger

seeing that the cow had taken these great and terrible vows, and promised to return, allowed her to go and give milk to her young calf. When the cow had fed her young she said to the calf, "Now I am about to leave you and fulfill my promise to the tiger." But the young calf declared that if the mother was to die she would die with her. Not all the persuasions of the mother could deter the calf from following her to the cave of the tiger. The tiger on seeing the cow had come back was greatly amazed at her fidelity, but nevertheless he was preparing to feast on her. Just then the chariots of the gods descended from the heavens to take up the faithful cow and her calf. But the cow refused to go: she said: "First let this tiger be taken up to heaven; then I wish my keeper, the herdsman, to be taken; after that let all the cattle in my herd be taken; then I wish the king of my country to go and all his subjects; last of all I will go myself." The gods were so overcome with the unselfishness of the cow that they gave orders that the whole country should immediately ascend to the heavens with the faithful Bahurā. And so to the present day a festival is observed in memory of Bahurā, and at this festival an earthen image of a cow and a tiger is worshipped.

D. Some proverbs and sayings, showing the thoughts of the people.

1. *Bāl ukhāre le murdā haru nahin hoy.* By pulling out the hair you will not lighten the weight of the corpse (*i.e.*, a little makes no difference).

2. *Khorī morī, taṅg torī, khorī ke laikā pīch kori.* The lame, the maimed, the broken-legged, the poor have children five score.

3. *Ultā pultā bhāu sansārā tab nau ke mur murai lohārā.* When the world is turned up side down the blacksmith will shave the barber.

4. *Nāche lā āwai nahin marwā lā doshi.* He who cannot dance blames the roof (or the temporary canopy made at the weddings).

5. *Bhaisā ke singh bhaisā lā garu.* The buffalo alone knows the weight of its horns.

6. *Dahi ke bhorā kapsā lilbe.* Instead of curds he swallows cotton.

7. *Baret ke kukur na ghar ke na ghāt ke.* The washerman's dog stays neither at home nor at the washing place. (This saying is applied to those of wandering, unsettled habits, especially women who leave their husbands often).

8. *Tāwā garhe lā āwai nahin sūi kābar jhoke.* He (the potter) cannot mould a plate, why does he take an advance?

9. *Teli ke tel rahte to pāhar nahin chupre.* The oilman has oil in abundance but he does not grease the mountains.

10. *Khāye ke dari ghat ghat jae, pise ke dari pachite lukai.* At the time of eating on the scenes, at the time for grinding hidden away.

11. *Bakrā kā jiv chhuti, khawaiyā lā anonā.* The goat has given its life and still the dish is considered insipid.

12. *Jar gae bhitri nahin āwai sisri.* When one is burning within he cannot whistle.

13. *Jānwar mā kolihā, pakshi mā kauwā, manukh mā nau.* Amongst beasts the jackal, amongst birds the crow, amongst men the barber (these three are the most cunning).

14. *Wakt pare bākā to gadhe ko kahe kakā.* In time of necessity one will call an ass his uncle.

15. *Ghar le nikle roshi ke rosh, ek din mā tin kos.* He starts from his house at very great speed, but goes only three kos (nine miles) in a day.

16. *Gānt mā nahin kauri, nāk chhede lā douri.* Not a *kauri* at her waist and she runs to have her nose pierced (for a nose ring).

17. *Sau ko suri, chor ko puri.* For the good man the gallows, for the thief a feast.

18. *Angrarā ke roti lā dhangrā khai, khaprā ke roti lā bihāta khai.* The bread from the ashes (considered the best) for the stranger, the bread from the tile for the husband. (Said when a woman pays more attention to a stranger than to her own husband).

19. *Bhalwā ke deh mā rowā kā dukal.* On the body of the bear a famine of wool.

20. *Rājā ke marge hāthi, prajā ke marge ghor, rāñdi ke marge kukur, tinon barābar hoy.* The king has lost his elephant, the subject has lost his horse, the widow has lost her dog; the loss of each one is the same.

21. *Dāl na pisān, khatai binā udās.* He has neither *dal* nor flour and yet he is sad for want of sour.

22. *Tiryā mirtini bāñhli, dhani lagāwe dosh, yeh to likhnā Brahma kā, bālak kahāñ se hoy.* The wife is childless, barren; the husband thinks the fault is with her, but this is decreed of Brahma: whence then can she have a child?

23. *Deshi kuti, bilāyti bhāk.* A country dog with a foreign bark.

24. *Dubar lā do Āsādh.* For the needy there are two *Āsādh*. (*Āsādh* is the month before the beginning of agricultural operations; when the poor are out of work this month seems to them to pass very slowly).

25. *Rājā kā rāni luwai kāñdi, rājā pahinau son chāñdi.* The king's consort goes to cut grass, the king adorns her with silver and gold.

26. *Chatur lā kekrā nahin chābai.* The crab cannot bite the prudent.

27. *Bhukh nā mānai juthā bhāt, piās nā mānai dhobi ghāt, nindh nā mānai marghat khāt, jawāni nā mānai jāṭ kujāt.* Hunger regards

not unclean food, thirst minds not the washing place, sleep objects not to the bier as a bed, and youth (desire) regards not caste or out-caste.

28. *Kauri na bouri ludak de louri.* He has neither one nor many *kauries* and yet he swings around his stick (in a *grandiose* style).

A Note on Stone Implements found in the Darjeeling District.—By
E. H. C. WALSH.

(WITH PLATES I AND II.)

[Read 6th November, 1903.]

Stone implements are fairly frequently found in parts of the Darjeeling district, and in Sikkim. In the Darjeeling district they are most frequently found in the Kalimpong sub-division lying to the east of the Teesta River which formerly (up to 1865) was part of Bhutan. They are also found on the slopes of the hills which run down to the Teesta on its western bank. In other parts of the hill portion district they are found more rarely; as it was doubtless less inhabited by people using such weapons, and further down on the lower slopes of the hills in the Kurseong sub-division, and where the plains are reached in the Terai they have, as far as I am aware, not been found at all. Almost all that I have seen have been of the same form, that of the axe, or chisel usually known as "celt." I have never seen a lance-head, or arrow-head, and from enquiries I have made have not been able to find anyone who has. This would seem to shew that at the time these stone implements were in use, the shaft of the arrow was merely sharpened to a point and no separate head was attached.

The only implements of a different shape to the "celt" that I have seen have been one hammer-head of a light greenish granite of the form of a dumbbell, with a knob at either end and a thinner waist in the middle, and which I forwarded to the Superintendent of Ethnography—Bengal, and a much longer axe-head or chisel, about six inches in length, and of a much higher finish than most specimens. The dimensions of the hammer-head which was quite small were 5 mm. long, the circumference of the knobs 120 mm., and the circumference of the centre 105 mm. The shape of the hammer was similar to that of one found at Ambleside, of which an engraving is given* on page 211 of Evans' "Stone Implements of Great Britain." Both these were found in the Kalimpong sub-division.

* The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and ornaments of Great Britain. By John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A., London. Longmans Green, 1872.

Of the specimens of "celts" in my possession only two are of any size, one of which is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and the other owing to its edge being chipped, just under 4 inches. The other twelve specimens vary from $3\frac{1}{8}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length.

Mr. Cholmeley, the Commissioner of Bhamo, has sent me three similar "celts" from the Shan States of Upper Burma, which are also of similarly small size. One of these is clearly an axe but the other two would appear to be chisels. I have shewn these for the purpose of comparison in the plate annexed (Nos. 11, 12 and 13).

The general belief of the people is that these axe-heads are thunderbolts and have fallen from heaven, and they are known among the Nepali races as *Bajra-ka-dhunga*, and amongs the Tibetan and Bhutea races *Nam-mkhai-rdo*, both of which mean "Thunderbolt."

This belief is apparently aided by their imagination, as in one case I was informed that the finder having seen a tree struck by lightning went to look for the thunderbolt and found it (one of the present celts) in the ground amongst its roots.

This belief that celts are thunderbolts was generally prevalent throughout Europe and Asia.

They are believed to possess various protective and curative properties, of which perhaps the most general and arising from their supposed origin is that they protect the house in which they are kept from lightning, and if buried in a field they are supposed to protect the crop against hail.

But they are further believed when worn as a charm to protect the wearer against contagious diseases, and the water in which one of these "thunderbolts" has been soaked, or into which a portion of it has been scraped or rubbed off, is given to women in childbirth and is believed to ensure an easy delivery.*

I would here remark that the coins of certain of the Newar kings of Nepal, for example those of Chakravartendra Malla Deva (A.D. 1669), which possess this same quality of ensuring an easy childbirth if the water in which they have been soaked is drunk at the proper time, and which in consequence have a great value amongst the Nepali races.

The water in which the "thunderbolts" have been soaked, or mixed with a portion scraped off from them, is also supposed to heal sores. This scraping of the axes, or rubbing of them on stones to obtain medicine, is very noticeable on four of the specimens (Nos. 10, 14, 15 and 16).

I am indebted to Rai Lama Ugyen Gyatsho Bahadur for the following report of the belief of the Bhuteas and Tibetan races as to the origin

* This belief is also prevalent amongst the Santals, J.A.S.B., 1901, p. 21.

of these thunderbolts: "According to the common belief of the ignorant people the cause and origin of the thunderbolt is that Rahu has his furnace, forge, and workshop on the crown of Khy-ale-juk (Ketous head), and that all the flint implements are forged by Thamchhen Dorje Legpa (the Tibetan vulcan), using Khya-le-juk (Ketous head) as his anvil. Thamchhen is said to be ever busy forging the arms of the powerful deities presiding over the elements, who throw them down on the evil spirits of the lower world.

It is said that the flint implements fall down in various shapes such as axes, *phurpas*, dorje, om-a-hoong, arrow or lance heads, knife-shaped lances or daggers, pagodas, images and slates (of two colours, yellow and dark-blue) having inscriptions of *mantras* (charms) on them, and are found and are regarded as sacred objects and preserved as fetishes and charms."

I would, however, remark that I have never seen any of these various shapes of weapons which are mentioned except only that of the axe.

These stone implements are chiefly found with the medicine men, who use them as charms in their incantations to drive out or cure disease, and also on account of their reputed medicinal properties when mixed with water. From the number of these axes so obtainable and from their great similarity in size and shape I strongly suspect that the medicine men sometimes manufacture them themselves with the object of imposing on their patients that they possess real "thunderbolts."

I may mention that Mr. J. L. Lister, of Pashoke, who possesses an intimate knowledge of the people, which extends over many years, agrees with me that this is very likely, and I possess two small axe-heads Nos. 7 and 9 which are clearly recently made and have been shaped out of a kind of stone far too soft to have ever been used as an axe or chisel.

It is interesting to note how universally prevalent is the belief that stone implements are thunderbolts. Mr. Evans* has very carefully collected the references to this belief, and how universal it was is shewn by the names of these stone implements in the various languages, which I give below:—

In English, *thunderbolt*; French, *coin de foudre* or *Pierre de tonnerre*; Norwegian, *Tonderkiler*; Danish, *Torden-steen*; German *Donnerkeile* or *Thorskeile*; Dutch, *Donder-beitels*; Portuguese, *Corisco*; Greek, *Astropelekia*.

Throughout the east the same belief prevails, and Evans cites references to shew that this belief also prevails in China, Japan, Java, Burma and Assam; and a similar belief is found among the natives of

* *Op. cit.* Chap. III, pages 50. *et seq.* 59.

Africa. As regards India the matter had not then been ascertained. To quote Evans: "I am not aware whether they are regarded as thunderbolts in India, but there also they are venerated as sacred and placed against the Mahadeos, or adorned with red paint as Mahadeos." Since then, however, the belief in various parts of India has been ascertained.

In 1861 a large collection of celts was made by Mr. H. P. Le Mesurier* about the Jubbulpore Railway. He almost invariably found them to be venerated as Mahadeos, but does not allude to the belief of their origin as thunderbolts, of which therefore he cannot have heard. It would be interesting to have a report from that area at the present time; as it is probable that the belief exists but that Mr. Le Mesurier did not enquire about it. Mr. W. Theobald continued Mr. Le Mesurier's search for celts, in Bundelkhund,† and also obtained a number over a more extended area, but, except noticing that they are collected around Mahadeo shrines, as mentioned by Mr. Le Mesurier, does not make any reference to their supposed origin.

A collection of celts and other stone implements found in the Kon Ravines of South Mirzapur was made by Mr. Cockburn,‡ but he merely describes the implements and makes no reference to any current beliefs as to their origin, or what they are. Since that time, however, the belief has been very generally ascertained.

Mr. Theobald, writes:§ "The Burmese call these weapons Magio or Thunder-chain (Anglice, Thunderbolt) and believe that they are projected from the skies with lightning, and not only prize them as medicine but as rendering the owner of one invulnerable. On this account they are very difficult to procure, and I have been asked Rs. 50 for one of the small Indian type, and Rs. 15 is a common price to pay for anything pretending to be authentic. The value of these implements has possibly led to imitations being made, but little skill is required to detect such imposture."

Mr. V. Ball has described stone implements found in the Jherria coal fields and Gobindpur|| and given a list of all the localities in which stone implements had been found up to that time.¶ He has also described chipped instruments of chert found at Chaibassa, and Chakadharpu in Singbhum,** and also axes of the Burmese type found in that district,††

* Proc., A.S.B., 1861 p. 81.

† Proc., A.S.B., 1862, p. 323, which contains two plates of the celts found.

‡ J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 21 with three plates.

§ Proc., A.S.B., 1865, p. 126.

|| Proc., A.S.B., 1865, p. 127.

¶ Proc., A.S.B., 1867, p. 147.

** Proc., A.S.B., 1877, p. 177.

†† Proc., A.S.B., 1875, p. 118, with plate.

and mentions the popular belief that these stones are thunderbolts, two out of his three, having been alleged, as in the case of one of the celts of my collection, to have been picked up by the finder at the time, on the spot where the lightning had struck. He has also described stone implements of roughly chipped quartzite found in the Tributary States of Orissa,* and polished celts found on the Parasnath Hill in Hazaribagh.† The Rev. P. O. Bodding‡ has also shewn that amongst the Santals stone implements are believed to be "thunderbolts," and in other respects too, their charms and medicinal properties correspond very closely with those ascribed to them amongst the hill races of Darjeeling: for instance, their protection of the house from lightning and their assistance in childbirth.

Further references to stone implements found in different parts of India have also appeared in the *Journal* or *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society as noted below.

Notes on some recent Neolithic and Paleolithic Finds in Southern India, by B. Bruce Foote, F.G.S., *J.A.S.B.*, 1887, p. 259; Ancient Stone Implements in India, by V. Ball, F.R.S. (which is a criticism on the above paper of Mr. Foote's), *Proc., A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 192; and a reply to the same by Mr. V. Ball, *Proc., A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 194; Notes on some objects from a Neolithic settlement recently discovered by Mr. W. H. P. Driver at Ranchi in the Chota Nagpur district; by J. Wood-Mason (with four plates), *J.A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 387; Notice of a Neolithic celt from Jashpur in the Chota Nagpur district; Note on flaked and chipped stones from Kon in the Mirzapur district, by Dr. W. King, *Proc., A.S.B.*, 1893, p. 53, by J. Wood-Mason (with plate), *J.A.S.B.*, 1899, p. 254; On Flint Implements from the Kon ravines of South Mirzapur, by John Cockburn (with three plates), *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 21.

* *Proc., A.S.B.*, 1876, p. 122.

† *Proc., A.S.B.*, 1878, p. 125.

‡ *J.A.S.B.*, 1901, p. 17, with plates.

SUPPLEMENT.

*Extract from inspection remarks recorded by E. de M. Humphries Esqr.,
C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Karwi, on the 2nd January 1904, regard-
ing Mouza Gidarha, Pergana Karwi.*

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The patwari tells me that there is a curious superstition among the Ahirs, who formed the majority of the inhabitants, that this village is haunted by a demon named Dhano, and that every two or three years a fire will break out and consume the crops. This Dhano is said to have been the tutelary deity of the Gonds who used to inhabit the village some 40 or 50 years ago. Since their departure no more sacrifices have been offered to Dhano; hence his displeasure. The patwari says that Dhano used to reside in a pipal tree in the jungle and that some years ago there were the remains of an old chibatra near it. These have now vanished entirely, he tells me. I was unable to see the tree itself, which is not near the village site. The patwari tells me that only one sub-caste of Ahirs, the Dhindhors, believe in this Dhano. He says that he has known the village for 11 or 12 years and that during that period there has been neither fire nor any other serious or striking calamity. To-day I met Babulal brahman the Zemindar. He firmly believes in Dhano. He tells me that the Gonds used to work the iron ore found in the hills near the village, and that they left when the industry broke down about the time of the taking over of the Government Forest.

I suggested that it would be worth while to settle a family of the original Gonds in the village in order to "lay" Dhano. He says he has gone so far as to offer them land rent-free, but they will not return, as they are better off in Native territory with free shooting.

He says that on at least two occasions since the Gonds left attempts have been made to settle in the village, but sickness or other calamity has destroyed the majority of the settlers and put to flight the rest.

He himself cultivates in the village, but would not spend the night in it for worlds. He adds that no animal fired at in the zemindary jungles in this village will be hit. If it were not for the fact that they are somewhat poor in game, Dhano *must* be "laid."

Mongolian Race-marks amongst the Santals. BY REV. P. O. BODDING,

Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.

In the pigment of the skins of Mongal children are found some peculiar blue spots which are said to be a distinct race-mark not found outside the Mongolian peoples.

Some time ago in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1901, I read an article by Mr. E. Baelz, Ueber die Menschurrassen Ostasiens; the article is accompanied by a coloured plate, showing these peculiar spots. Happening about the same time to see some blue spots on the back of a Santal child, I investigated the matter a little further, and have found that spots which in size and position on the body resemble the Mongolian spots, and are of exactly the same blue colour, are now and then found on Santal children. I have seen them both on dark-skinned and on fair children. The spots are said to disappear when the child grows up.

Faces of the Mongoloid type are sometimes seen amongst the Santals; and if it is a fact—as it is said to be—that these spots are the exclusive property of the Mongolian races, their being found on Santal children would seem to indicate, not that the Santals are Mongolians, but that they have in some remote past been in intercourse with Mongolians, and got Mongolian blood mixed in their viens.

Having only seen a picture of the Mongolian spots, I cannot, of course, say for certain that those found on Santals are the same; but having in mind our scant knowledge as regards the ancient history of the Santals, I have thought it right to make the above mentioned fact public, as it may indicate a direction for further research.

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Shoulder-headed and other forms of stone implements in the Santal Parganas.—By REV. P. O. BODDING, *Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.*

[Read 2nd March, 1904.]

Since I wrote the short article on Ancient Stone Implements in the Santal Parganas (printed J.A.S.B., Vol. LXX., Part III. No. 1, 1901), I have seen a great many other stone implements, all found in the Dumka sub-division of the Santal Parganas, and in form mostly resembling those pictured in the plates accompanying that article. I have, however, also come across some forms which I did not at the time know were to be found in these parts of the country, and as specially one of these forms is of more than common interest, it might not be superfluous to say a few words about them.

There are specially five new forms which I would point out.

Some of the wedge-shaped axes are curved in a peculiar manner, the (apparently) upper side being convex, and the other more or less concave. Fig. 29, Pl. IV of the article mentioned above, gives some idea of the form, only the curving is more pronounced. I have observed

it in so many specimens, that there cannot be any doubt of the shape being intentional.

Implements with square, sometimes quite parallel, side-edges (*vide* Fig. 41, Pl. VI of Mr. Cockburn's article in J.A.S.B. for 1894) are rather frequent. These have formerly been thought very rare in India.

Another form is represented by a small oblong, flat stone, the edge of which has been cut with small notches, and which has probably done service as a kind of saw. It easily cuts wood. Very likely more of this kind might be found; but as they do not much resemble the common kind of celts, and at first sight are not very different from a broken piece of stone, they are not thought to be "thunderbolts" and hence not picked up by the Santals from whom I have got almost all the specimens of celts I have had. I ought to mention that chips and flakes of flint, chert, etc., are found in many places.

Of perforated stones I have seen two complete specimens and parts of two broken ones; they are all of sandstone; one is triangular in form—almost a facsimile of this implement I have seen pictured in Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, but not having the book, I cannot give the number of the figure;—one is irregularly rhomboidal, and the two broken ones have apparently been circular in form. The hole in the centre has been drilled from both sides, narrowing towards the middle where there is a circular opening of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter. Taking the form and material into consideration, it seems likely that these perforated stones have been mace-heads. I have heard about another perforated stone, which, according to the description given of it by Santals, resembles the perforated hammers found in Europe, the hole being close to the one end.

By far the most interesting, however, are the so-called "shoulder-headed" celts of which I have seen four specimens found in the Santal Parganas, the biggest about 4" long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, the smallest one about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", in shape more or less resembling the two pictured in plate II of the *Proceedings*, A.S.B. for 1875. The biggest stone shows one note-worthy difference, *viz.*, that the edge has not been cut with a straight facet, like that of a chisel, from back to front, but has been gradually rounded off. The material of the celts is, I think, chert and sandstone.

Some of them have two small notches, continuing a line drawn along each side of the neck down into the body of the stone. In one of the specimens this notch is partially shown along the whole "neck." These notches are clearly marks left by the manufacturer, and show that the neck has been at least partially cut. It may be, that the manufacturer before proceeding to work has cut two grooves to have

something to follow in making the neck, after which the neck has been formed, by using some kind of chisel and by grinding. The appearance of the neck seems to allow of such a deduction. In any case, the shape of these as of some of the other stone implements presupposes no small ability.

In an article in this Journal, Vol. LXV, Part III, No. 1, 1896, the late Mr. Peal calls attention to the resemblance between these shoulder-headed celts and a kind of small iron hoes which he found used in some Naga villages in weeding the hill paddy. In an accompanying plate he gives a sketch, showing how these iron hoes are furnished with a handle, and he has "no hesitation in assuring that these *Rangkoi* [as they are called there] are simply the Kol Mon shoulder-headed celt made in iron, and that hence we see not only the meaning of the peculiar shoulder, but the office of the complete implement as a miniature hoe."

It is very likely that these stone implements may have been used after the fashion supposed by Mr. Peal, viz., as hoes; some of them being of a rather soft material would, indeed, point to this being the case.

There are, however, some circumstances which require to be taken into consideration.

If these peculiar celts should originally have belonged to the ancestors of the Mon-Khm̄r etc., and the Muṇḍa peoples, one would expect, if Mr. Peal's deductions are correct, to find an iron hoe of the same shape used by these peoples also. So far as I know,—I can speak with certainty so far as the Santals are concerned,—no such or similar implement is found. The oldest and formerly the only kind of agricultural implement with the Santals is a club or thick stick, some three to four feet long, with a flat piece of iron fixed at the end, used for the purpose of digging roots, etc., and for making small holes in the ground.

On the other hand we find among these people (as all over India) a kind of adze, used where we use the plane, not for cutting, but for smoothening purposes. Most of these have a hole for the handle; but there is one adze which has "shoulders," but with this difference, that whilst in the shoulder-headed celts the shoulders are parallel with the edge, in the adze mentioned they are (nearly) vertical on the plane of the edge. It is fixed to the handle by an iron clamp going round the "neck." With another kind of handle it is used as an axe, the "neck" being placed in an aperture made for the purpose in the handle. The present-day Santals consider this kind of adze to be superior to all others, and say they have got it from the Hindus. Whatever its origin, in several points it much resembles the shoulder-headed celts.

If we further look at the sharp edge and the oblique shape of this, like that of a chisel, it seems to deserve being taken into consideration, whether these celts may not after all also have been used as adzes, and not only as hoes. More I cannot say.

In any case, in the shoulder-headed celts which I have seen, the handle must have been fixed, as shown by Mr. Peal, and the instrument most likely used for hoeing or cutting by moving it towards oneself.

So far as I have seen, these shoulder-headed celts have formerly been found exclusively in the Malayan Peninsula and in Chota Nagpur; to these places must now be added the Dumka sub-division of the Santal Parganas.

Several writers have taken the fact that these celts have only been found in the countries mentioned, as a proof that the present-day peoples of these places, *viz.*, the Mons and Mundas, belong to the same stock, thereby implying that the shoulder-headed celts were originally manufactured and used by these races.

Now there is no doubt at all that the Munḍa-family of languages in India—as the Kolarian languages are to be called in future according to the Linguistic Survey of India—and the Mon-Khm̄r and other languages in the Malayan Peninsula resemble each other so much, that we cannot avoid drawing the conclusion that the peoples originally belonged to the same stock. But to take these celts as a proof of this fact is altogether unnecessary and unadvisable, because there is absolutely nothing to connect the present-day peoples with them. Both in India and in Pegu they are believed to be thunderbolts; their nature as implements is not understood. However long the Mons, etc., may have been living in the South, I do not think it possible to prove that they have been in those countries since their stone-age, and the Munḍa peoples have certainly not been so long in Chota Nagpur. Here in the Santal Parganas they, *i.e.*, the Santals and other races related to them, all belonging to the Munḍa family, have not been for more than upward of one hundred years.

So far as our present knowledge goes, we cannot say more than this: the fact of these peculiarly formed celts being found in Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas in India, and in the delta and valley of the lower Erawati (so says Sir A. Phayre, in a letter printed in the Proceedings, A.S.B., No. 1, 1876), and nowhere else, makes it so likely as to be almost a certainty that in a former age the same peoples have either been living in the countries mentioned (and those between), or there has been some kind of communication or intercourse between the countries, by migration or otherwise. If these shoulder-headed celts should be found, *e.g.*, in the Assam Valley and Burma, they would point

out where these peoples were living, or the line of communication.

The original owners may, of course, for all we know, have been the Mon-Khm̃r and Muṇḍa peoples; but they may also just as well have been others.

Note on titles used in Orissa.—By J. M. DAS. Communicated by the Anthropological Secretary.

[Read 1st June, 1904.]

In his Historical Account of Orissa, Stirling gives the long title assumed by Raja Ananga Bhim Deo in the 12th year of his reign (1186 A.D.). It runs as follows:—“Vira Çrī Gajapati Gaureçvara Navakoti Karnātotkalavargeçvarādhirāy Bhuta Bhairavadeva Sādhuçāsanotkarana Rāwat rāy Atulabalaprakarmasaṁgrāmsahasrabāhu Ksatriyakuladhumraketu &c.” Stirling translates it as “The illustrious Hero, the Gajapati (Lord of Elephants), Sovereign of Gaura (Bengal), Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the tribes of Utkala, Karnāta, and the nine forts, a divinity terrible as Bhairava to the wicked, the protector of the grants enjoyed by the pious, King of Kings, like the Lord of a thousand arms in the field of battle by his unequalled might, and a comet (or portent) to the martial race, &c.” He also writes that “many of the titles of distinction now in general use in the Province were introduced at that period, as Sāwant, Mongrāj, Barjenā, Pātsāhāni, Barpandā, &c.”

History furnishes indications of the development of the system thus introduced. The last independent King of Orissa was Mukunda Haricandan who, on the ascending the throne, dropped the title Haricandan and assumed the royal family title Deo with, of course, the long title mentioned above. Most of the other historical persons of this time had similar titles.

On the dismemberment of the Province after the Moghal conquest, the royal title vested in the Rājā of Khurda, now known as the Raja of Puri. Stirling writes:—“Down to the present moment (1821) the Rājās of Khurda are the sole fountain of honour in this district, and all deeds whatever, drawn out in the Uria language, bear the date of the *Anka* or accession of the reigning prince of that house, and are prefaced with a recital of his titles which run precisely in the style adopted many centuries ago by the great Rājā Ananga Bhim Deo.” With the progress of the British administration, the recital of the title in legal

documents has gone out of use, but every horoscope in Orissa still opens with the following slightly mutilated and altered form of the title now used by the Raja of Puri:—"Vira Çri Gajapati Gaureçvara Navakoti Karnatotkalavargeçvara Virādhivirapratāpa Çri." The tenacity with which the people still cling to this ancient title, having no relation at present to any existing facts, is attributable chiefly to their love of titles. The tenacity is not less in the case of titles of lower rank, as will be shown later on.

The prerogative of bestowing titles appears originally to have been confined to the King of Orissa, as the fountain-head of all honours in the Province, but in course of time, by express or tacit delegation, every Chief and every big landholder in the Province has exercised this privilege within his jurisdiction, and the result is an extensive system of titles, unknown probably in any other part of India.

Where there is no recognized authority for granting titles, people desiring to have titles, call assemblies of their caste men and, with their consent, assume the desired titles. When a title is assumed in this way, a feast is usually given to the caste men, and presents are also sometimes sent to the Rājā of Puri for confirmation of the title assumed. The confirmation is not considered essential now and is, therefore, very often dispensed with.

A Rājā bestowing a title presents a *çarī* or *çiropa* (head-dress) to the recipient of the title, and in return receives from him a *nuzzur* varying in amount with his condition. A *sanad* is also sometimes granted. The translation of a *sanad* granted by the Raja of Puri is given below:—

Addressed to Khatani (attendant) Kunja Behāri Jagadev. Written by order, on the 3rd day of the month of *Dhanu*, in the 9th year of reign (of the then reigning Rājā). To your son Krupā Sindhu and nephews Jaga Bandhu and Kamal Locan, three persons in all, the favours of *çarīs* having been ordered (as under):—

Haricandan to Krupā Sindhu,
Rautārā to Jaga Bandhu, and
Pāikārā to Kamal Locan,

be it known to you that the said *çarīs* are taken by Sejā Apat Bidyat Buddhi.

All the old titles are mainly of Sanskrit origin, but a few of later foreign origin are also in use. During the Muṇammedan rule, every Pargana or fiscal division was in charge of two officers—the Chowdhury or chief executive officer and the Kanungo or revenue accountant. These designations having lost, in course of time, their official character

are now used as titles of distinction. There are holders of these titles who have as little concern with the functions connoted by them, as the Rājā of Puri has with the extensive dominions mentioned in his title. These titles, however, conserve historical facts of considerable interest.

A powerful Chief insists upon treating all titles as personal, but where the power of the grantor is weak, the tendency of the grantees is to treat them as hereditary. In the latter case, the title generally descends to the eldest heir according to the rule of primogeniture, but sometimes the honour is shared by all the heirs according to the common rule of succession, the title thus virtually becoming a family title. The title Patnāyek (Pāt, corruption of *patta*—great, *nāyek*—commander) granted only to members of the Karan caste, is thus used as a family title by the descendants of the recipient.

The following is a list of the titles now commonly used in Orissa:—

Bairiganjan—Subduer of enemies.

Bāmanpati—Lord of Brāhmans (confined to Brāhmans).

Bar Pandā—Great *pandit* (confined to Brāhmans.)

Bidyādhār—Possessor of learning.

Bairibār—Protector from enemies.

Mouzbār—Protector of the village.

Mālbār—Protector of jungle (commonly written and pronounced as Malbehār).

Diābāgh—Jumping tiger.

Champati—Lord of soldiers, commander.

Çricandan—(Loved and respected as sweet-scented) white sandal-wood.

Haricandan (do.) celestial sandal-wood.

Chowdhury—Chief, the designation of an office under the Mahomedan rule, now used as a title.

Gaurmani—Gem of Gauras (confined to the Gaura caste).

Gour shend—(Powerful like) white bull.

Bāhubalendra—(Like the god) Indra in strength of arm.

Gajendra—(Powerful like the) most powerful elephant.

Narendra—Prince of men.

Jānughanta—(Powerful like) Jānughanta or Parusuram.

Jamaghanta—(Dreadful like the) bell of Yama or god of death.

Jagadev—Lord of the world.

Daksin kabāt—(Protector of the) south gate.

Uttar kabāt—(Do.) north gate.

Pascim kabāt—(Do.) west gate. Orissa is bounded

on the east by the sea. The title "Purba kabat" is apparently, therefore, not used.

Kalāpāhār—(Dreadful like) the great iconoclast of that nickname who was the terror of Orissa.

Mahāpasait—Follower of the great or learned profession.

Mahāpātra—Great minister.

Mahārathā—Great charioteer.

Māndhātā—Protector of honour.

Monguāl—Helmsman (confined to the Kewat caste).

Pātnāyek—Commander-in-chief (confined to the Karan caste who are said to be *brātva ksatriyas*, although literary profession is their chief occupation at present).

Pathar kānth—(Stout as) stone-wall.

Parusurām—(Powerful like the) mythical hero.

Mang rāj—Corruption of *mangal raj*, a raja doing good (to his subjects).

Marda rāj—A rājā who can subdue (his enemies).

Paha rāj—Rājā for a *prahar* or three hours. (This title is granted only to Brāhmans. It was originally the designation of an officer whose duty or rather privilege was to sit on the royal throne for a *prahar* during the interval between the death of the raja and the accession of his successor).

Balabantrā—Corruption of *balabanta rāy* or powerful lord.

Bhramarbar rāy—A lord (enjoying pleasure like the) best *bhramar*.

Campaitārā—Corruption of *campati rāy* or lord of commanders.

Chotarā—Corruption of *chota rāy* or junior lord.

Daksin rāy—Lord of the south.

Dalpati rāy—Lord of commanders.

Khandaitārā—Corruption of *Khandait rāy* or lord of *Khandaits*.

Khandait means either the holder of a *Khandā* or sword or lord of a *khandā* or division of country corresponding to the modern pargana.

Madanrā—Corruption of *Madan rāy*, a lord beautiful like the god of love.

Niçankarā—Corruption of *niçanka rāy* or fearless lord.

Rasik rāy—A voluptuous lord.

Rrāutārā—Corruption of *rāhut rāy* or lord of horse-men.

Rāy guru—Lord preceptor (confined to Brāhmans).

Sāntārā—Corruption of *sāmanta rāy* or chief lord.

Sāntsimhār—Corruption of *sāmanta simha rāy* or chief lord, valiant like lion.

Subuddhirā—Corruption of *subuddhi rāy* or very intelligent lord.

Sundarā—Corruption of *sundar rāy* or beautiful lord.

Udandarā—Corruption of *ut-danda-rāy* or a lord who can well chas-tise (his enemies).

Uttar rāy—Lord of the north.

Rana rathā—A charioteer in war.

Ranajit—A victor in war.

Senāpati—Lord of soldiers.

Sudhākar—Fountain of nectar.

Sujanmani—A gem of a good man.

Bāgha simha—Tiger-lion.

Baliār simha—Valiant lion.

Vira simha—A hero like lion.

Choāl simha—Lion's cub.

Curāl simha—Long-haired lion.

Dhāuria simha—Running lion.

Dhumat simha—Roaring lion.

Hābrā simha—One who proves to be a lion when attacked.

Jhāmplā simha—Leaping lion.

Jhumpān simha—Dashing lion.

Jujhār simha—Fighting lion.

Kadmā simha—Fat lion.

Pahalā simha—Probably a corruption of *prabala sinha* or powerful lion.

Pāltā simha—Lion returning (victorious).

Pātāl simha—A Lion who can penetrate even the infernal region.

Pratāp simha—Powerful lion.

Rana simha—Lion in war.

Ratan simha—A gem of a lion.

Sārdul simha—Tiger-lion.

Uran simha—Flying lion.

Uttar simha—Lion of the north.

Long though this list is, it is not exhaustive, and new titles are still invented when those in use do not suit the recipients. The largest number of titles mentioned above are indicative of personal valour,—symbolised by lion. Curiously enough, Rājā Ananga Bhīm Deo who sat on the throne of the “Kesari” or lion dynasty, did not import into his long title the valour of the lion, although he styled himself a “hero”; nor did his successors, who went a step further by enlarging “hero” to “hero of heroes,” adopt the lion as the symbol of their personal valour. Next to “simha,” “ray,” with words chiefly denoting personal valour or military command, forms the largest number of titles. Personal valour, learning, respectability, and great power for doing good or averting mischief underlie the ideas embodied in most of the other titles. It seems likely, that these titles used to be originally granted with some reference to their meaning, but now they are worn as mere ornamental appendages, often most in-

congruously. The wonder is that such an extensive system still exists with all the signs of vitality.

The largest number of title-holders are found among the Khandāits and Cāsās, probably on account of their traditional feudal service. Most of the other castes have title-holders among them, and even the Chiefs of Tributary States hold such titles as, "Mardarāj Bhramarbar Rāy," "Mardarāj Jagadev," "Haricandan Mahāpātra," "Birabar Bajradhar Narendra Mahāpātra," &c.

It is probable that some of the family titles had their origin in this way. "Jenā" and "Raut" (corruption of *rahut*) are very common titles of the Khandaits. The former means victor and the latter horseman. "Jena" is also the caste title of the Pāns who may have similarly won it by military success.

Dās (servitor) is a title of respectability in Orissa. It is assumed by certain classes of people, seeking to raise their position in society, very much in the same way as titles of distinction. It is more convenient than the latter, as it can be assumed by the whole family. A Karan acquiring wealth, often changes his family title from Mahānti to Das. People of all castes assuming the *kanthi* (a bit of Tulsi wood worn on the neck as a distinctive mark of the adoption of Vaisnab faith) change their family titles to Dās in token of their devoted service to the god Visnu. In quite recent times, several families of Cāsās in the district of Cuttack changed their family titles to Dās, as the first step towards raising themselves to the superior Karan caste. They next purchased matrimonial alliances with poor Karan families, and through them, obtained or are trying to obtain admission into the Karan caste.

SUPPLEMENT.

Superstition about Silk.—In para. 645 of his monograph on the Silk Industry in the United Provinces, Mr. A. I. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S. writes: "In these Provinces the prejudice against women's share in sericulture is not found." I have recently come across a report by Mr. H. P. Mulock, I.C.S., written in October 1871 at Mirzapur, which shows that the prejudice was still in force at that date, and gives an explanation of it. In describing an experiment in silk-weaving at Mirzapur, conducted by a Mr. Leman, Mr. Mulock wrote: "The worms thrived and spun and laid eggs; but the next season, though the eggs were hatched, all the worms died, and the produce was *nil*. The natives ascribe a very strange reason for this. They have a superstition that if a woman goes into the house or room where the worms are they will die. The wife of Mr. Leman used to go backwards and forwards in the factory, and used very often to visit the silk house, and to this fact the natives ascribe the death of the worms. This superstition has a very simple origin. The Bairagees, who are the only caste, except the Koles, who cultivate the silk-worm, always live in strict celibacy, and in order to monopolize the trade, and partly no doubt to prevent women from having any part in the delicate operation of rearing the worm, originated the strange belief that it would die under their handling."

R. BURN.

The Lohamamia Rajputs.—[Please see page 106, No. 2, 1903, Vol. LXXII, Part III, of the Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal.]

It occurs to me that Lohathamia is but the usual corruption or mispronunciation of the Sanskrit *Loh-sthambhiya*, where *loh* is iron, *sthambha* a pillar, *iya* 'of' or 'wallah' in Hobson-Jobson's Anglo Indian. These people are possibly connected with some monumental iron pillar long forgotten. Dat or Datt does not seem to be a Rajput name. It means one "given away." A Kabiraj is a physician, Kaidahia may mean one imprisoned, and Kuordar indicates "Brother of the heir-apparent." Major Vost, who writes the original note, may find it very interesting to trace the family godling of the sept, and if he can get hold of the hereditary *bhat* or bard he will have done immense good to the Science of Ethnography and possibly Archæology.

B. A. GUPTA.

Superstition regarding tiger's fat.—The magical virtues attached to various parts of the tiger's body, such as the whiskers and fat, are numerous. Chopped whiskers are a deadly poison, and the fat is supposed to be very strengthening. The meat is dried, powdered, and used as medicine or to improve courage. The penis is a strong aphrodisiac.

The loose bone in the shoulder is a valuable charm, and while the tiger is alive it supports him in the absence of food. These are well-known traditions, but it has been recently reported from the Rāmpur State that fumigation with tiger's fat is an unfailing remedy for foot and mouth disease in cattle. A small amount of fat weighing a quarter to half a tola is placed on live coals or a burning cowdung cake, and brought near the affected parts of the animal. The process is repeated once daily for two or three days, if necessary.

R. BURN.

Superstition about dogs.—A dog ordinarily has 18 claws, but if there are dew claws on the hind legs, making 20 altogether, its bite is believed to be peculiarly dangerous. Thus a nervous man will have nothing to do with a *bisāwālā kuttā*, though a more adventurous spirit prizes such an animal as a watch-dog.

R. BURN.

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Totemism among the Khonds.—By J. E. FRIEND-PEREIRA, B.A.

[Read July 6th, 1904.]

INTRODUCTION.

It has hitherto been believed that the Khonds, in strange contrast to the other aboriginal Dravidian tribes of India, are not influenced in their social life, more especially in their marriage arrangements, by that mysterious law of prohibitions which ethnologists term totemism.

As a matter of fact totemism prevails among the Khonds and plays a by no means insignificant part both in their social and in their religious life. The members of a totem sept are—to employ the words of Mr. Risley's definition of totemism—"prohibited from killing, cutting, carrying, using, etc., the animal, tree, plant, or some material object, natural or artificial, from which the sept derives its name; and the totem is taboo to the sept."*

Among the Khonds, however, the wider and possibly the older rule

* Risley—*Castes and Tribes of Bengal.*

of totemistic exogamy has been hidden, but not extinguished, by the narrower and also possibly the newer rule of what Mr. Risley calls—"the local, communal, or family type."* And therefore it appears at first sight as if the older totemistic form had never existed at all.

The enquiry, the results of which I purpose to set down in this paper in the hope that it may serve to throw some light on the vexed question of the origin of totemism, was carried on among the northern section of the Khond tribe, namely, the group of septs inhabiting the country occupied by the tributary state of Bōd, including the Khond Māls, a portion of the tributary state of Daspalla, and the former tributary state of Gumsar, which now forms part of the Ganjam District in Madras.

The tract of country I deal with may be described as the region where the main ridge of the Eastern Ghats in its extension northwards terminates on the edge of the valley of the Mahānadi, and turning due east widens out into a large elevated plateau that slopes down to the plains of Ganjam on the south-east, and more abruptly, to the valley of the Mahānadi (the modern Bōd State) on the north.

Geographically this Khond country is not homogeneous. The western part of the Khond Māls, which is the most lofty portion of the plateau, is intersected in all directions by the numerous lateral ramifications of the Ghauts which break up the surface of the country into small depressions of comparatively little fertility. The eastern half of the Khond Māls, and the western half of Gumsar, contain larger and more open and fertile valleys. West Daspalla is practically one long chain of narrow valleys of low elevation and comparative richness. East Gumsar is the point where the plateau begins to merge into the plains of Ganjam. Bōd is the low country dotted with hills through which the Mahānadi scoured a passage for itself in the course of ages and left a deposit of alluvium as it withdrew its waters to the bed of its present channel.

The ethnographical features of this Khond country are in keeping with its geographical variations. The West Khond Māls and a portion of West Gumsar are inhabited by the wilder and more primitive septs who, with the exception of a few headmen, speak no language but their own mother tongue, who still eat the flesh of the pig and drink strong liquors, and whose women still go about with only a piece of cloth round the loins, leaving the breast uncovered. In the Eastern half of the Khond Māls, in Western Daspalla, and in East Gumsar, almost all the men and women speak Uriya; the people have more or less eschewed

* Risley—*Castes and Tribes of Bengal.*

the flesh of the pig, and the women dress like the ordinary Uriya women of the country. In the plains of Bōd and Gumsar the Khonds are hardly distinguishable from the Uriyas, in features, in language, and in their mode of living.

II.—A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE KHOND SEPTS.

I shall give a short account of some of the Khond septs in order to indicate the manner in which totemism enters in their social and religious life.

The Chhōṭā Pāju or Chhōṭā Pādki commune.—I begin with the Chhōṭā Pāju confederacy of six septs, or rather sub-septs, which form a commune, because they are numerically the most prominent and socially the most influential and prosperous in the Khond Māls. They occupy the centre of the eastern half of the Khond Māls sub-division.

One of the traditions of the Chhōṭā Pāju says that the original home of their ancestors was in the basin of the upper course of the Mahānadi in the tract of country that constitutes the modern district of Sambalpur. Thence they migrated under a leader named Tāṅgārā into the hills of Chinnā Khimḍi, where they dwelt for many generations round about the Doḍā Sōru, a prominent peak to the west of Udaigiri. Finally, they moved northwards, and after conquering an older sept called the Rōpōrmenḍi, they took possession of the territory that makes up the present Chhōṭā Pāju district.

The Rōpōrmenḍi Khonds are still found, but with all the characteristics of a broken people—without any cohesion and without any communal rights—in a few scattered families among the dominant Chhōṭā Pāju sub-septs.

The date of the Chhōṭā Pāju irruption might be conjectured from another of their traditions. It is said that in the time of Gondho Mārdān, the last king of the Brahmin dynasty of Bōd, which ended, according to Captain Macpherson, about the beginning of the ninth century, A. D.,* a fierce struggle took place between the Hindu Kings of Bōd and Chinnā Khimḍi for the possession of a renowned idol that was enshrined in a temple in Mahāsingi, a village to the south of the Doḍā Sōru hill. The Chhōṭā Pāju, who played a prominent part in the war and eventually obtained a decisive victory over the Chinnā Khimḍi king, carried off the idol to Bōd where, after the unmistakable declaration by an omen, it was set up with due ceremony at Bolaskūpā, a *garh* or fort of the Hindu suzerain, in the centre of the Chhōṭā Pāju District.

* Lieut. S. C. Macpherson—*Report upon the Khonds of the districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.*

The hard-won idol of Bolasküpā goes by the name of the *Bara Rāwāl Thākūrāni*, a semi-Hinduized deity quite distinct from the animist godlings or demons of the Khonds; and is worshipped at the time of the Durgā Puja with a sacrifice of buffaloes.

The *Bara Rāwāl Thākūrāni* seems to be the Hindu tribal deity of the Khond septs in the highlands of the Khond Māls and that part of Gumsar which formerly belonged to Bōd; and it is more than probable that the King of Bōd founded the worship of this Hindu idol among the Khonds as a means of increasing his authority and consolidating his power over the unruly tribesmen who owned only a nominal allegiance.

The tutelary deity of the Chhōtā Pāju horde that came into the Khond Māls is *Panthi Durgā Mā*, a purely animist goddess that is not represented by an idol although she bears a Hindu name. *Panthi* is the feminine of *Patho*, a path or way; and the goddess is worshipped as the spirit that guided the adventurous band and brought its members safely through the hills and jungles to the Chhōtā Pāju country. The use of the name *Durgā Mā* shows that the original Chhōtā Pāju horde had come under Hindu influence probably at a remote period of time. I shall refer to this again when relating the legend concerning the origin of the *gayēśvar* totem.

There are three more tutelary deities for the three sub-communes into which the Chhōtā Pāju are divided: first, *Gūrbi* for the eldest section, Biḍumēṇḍi and Bākāmēṇḍi; second, *Prisu Pātā* for the next in order, Gumālmēṇḍi and Grāṇḍimēṇḍi; and third, *San Bara Rāwāl Thākūrāni* for the youngest branch, Sāṇḍumēṇḍi and Dūṭimēṇḍi.

The tradition about the origin of the sub-commune tutelary deities is of the usual type. There was once a portent: a drum on which three arrows had been placed was suddenly turned to stone. The people marvelled greatly at the omen, but the soothsayers had no explanation to offer. Then an old woman had a dream, and the names of the three guardian spirits for the three sections into which the people were divided was revealed to her.

Gūrbi is the demon of the spot where a human sacrifice had been offered to the earth goddess by the *gūru*. The name *gūrbi*, seems to be derived from the word *gūru*, the designation of the priest of the earth-goddess. *Prisu Pātā* means small birds. The Gumālmēṇḍi and Grāṇḍimēṇḍi Khonds will not kill or trap small birds. *Prisu Pātā* is believed to protect her votaries under her sheltering wings. *Sān Bara Rāwāl Thākūrāni* is the same as *Bara Rāwāl Thākurni*. As she is the tutelary deity of the youngest section the order of precedence is reversed, Dūṭimēṇḍi and Sāṇḍumēṇḍi taking the lead in the commune, and

Dūṭimendi, the youngest of the sub-communes, furnishing the federal patriarch for the whole confederacy.

The chief gods of the Khonds are *Dharmo Pēnu* (the personification of the Sun) who is conceived as the Supreme God and Creator of the Universe, and *Tānā Pēnu* (the earth-goddess) who is represented as a malevolent she-demon that requires constant propitiation. Besides these there are a host of minor gods—or godlings and demons—all of whom are of the purely animistic type. Some are the nature godlings:—as the godling of the mountain (*sōrū pēnū*), of the forest (*gosā pēnū*), of the stream (*jōri pēnu*); others are the village demons:—as the tutelary demon of the village (*gram sēnī*), the demon of the refuse heap (*tūrki pēnu*), the demon of the dung-hill (*goberi pēnu*); a third class are the spirits of dead ancestors, relations, and friends:—as the manes of the members of the Bhanj royal house (*banjeni*), of the Sūdho militia officers of the king (*sūdeni*), of the chiefs and headmen, and of the family ancestors going back step by step to the founder of the stock and finally the totem; a fourth class are the tutelary deities of communes or groups of stocks:—as *panthi durgā mā* of the Chhōṭā Pāju commune.

The constitution of Chhōṭā Pāju confederacy is peculiar. *Chhōṭā Pāju* or *Chhōṭā Pādki* means the six *pādu* or countries. There are six territorial areas called *Muṭhā* (a handful) as follows: Biḍumendi and Bākāmemdi, Gūmāmemdi and Grāṇḍimendi, Saṇḍumendi and Dutimendi; and each of the pairs forms a sub-commune. In each of the six *muthās* are found families of various stocks with different totems:—as for instance, a dominant stock called *gajesvar* whose totem is the elephant and whose title is *māliko*; a stock bearing the title of *kuṇāro* and possessing as their totem *ḍūrā* (a cudgel or heavy stick); a stock styled *bisoī* whose totem I have not been able to discover; a stock surnamed *podān* who are admittedly descended from a *pāno* and who will not touch the *mohri* (clarinet)—an instrument on which *pāno* musicians play at marriage celebrations and other festivities of the Khonds; a stock styled *nāiko* who worship the *pāñji* (almanac) as a tutelary deity and who have as their totem *betā* (cane); a stock called *bāgo* or *chita krāṇḍi* (chameleon) who take their title from their totem, the *bāgo*; another *māliko* stock who are supposed to be descended from a *kumhār* (potter) and will not touch the *piṇā* (potter's hammer) which is their totem; a stock surnamed *behrā* who are also supposed to be descended from another class of *kumhār*—the *khond-kumhār*—whose totem I could not discover; a third stock with the title *māliko* whose tutelary deity is *āti gosāni* (Uriya: *hāthi gosāin*) but whose totem is not very clear; and lastly the servile *Rōpārmendi* Khonds who have both

the titles *māliko* and *kunāro* and possess as their totem the *ṭimkuri*—a small kettle-drum on an earthenware body which was used in former days to summon clansmen to a gathering.

All the members of these various stocks cannot intermarry within the six confederated muthās, and they form an exogamous group in themselves, being considered, by a fiction of course, members of one great brotherhood. This exogamous group of various totem stocks is the *gochi* of Mr. Risley, who was misled into believing that all the members of a *gochi* were of the same blood.*

I shall relate the legend concerning the origin of the totem of the *gajesvar* or elephant stock for what it is worth. It says the founder of the stock was once required by the king to take charge of a favourite but unruly elephant. As the beast proved to be intractable he killed it and hid the carcass under a winnowing-fan. For this dreadful offence the hapless keeper of elephants was crucified on a *tāl* (palm) tree.

It will be observed that though the totem is the elephant the form of the totem name *gajesvar* is unmistakably Hindu, being like *nāgesvar*, etc., a *gotra*. It may be that the ancestors of the *gajesvar* stock were the elephant soldiers of some king—perhaps a Hinduized Gond chief of the Central India plateau.

In the broken country on the edge of the Khond Māls plateau which is occupied by the Upar Chāro Kombo commune, there is found a small sept (*klāmbo*) of Chhōṭā Pāju Khonds—of what totem stock it is not clear—who are called the Gūh'ā Pinjā klāmbo, and whose tutelary deity is *gūh'ā pinjā pēnu*. Gūh'ā pinjā means—running away as fast as possible; and the story is that on account of a blood feud the progenitor of the sept fled from the Chhōṭā Pāju district.

The Tin Pari or Borgōchā commune.—The Tin Pāri, literally the three septs, are in reality a confederation of three distinct communes, in each of which are found families of various stocks of blood. The three dominant septs are:—the *Ḍelā Pāri*, the *Kālā Pāri*, and the *Sīḍu Pāri*.

Ḍelā in Khond means a twig, and the totem of the *Ḍelā Pāri* is the twig of any tree. Consequently, they will never use twigs in the construction of a house of wattle and daub, and they will never stay in a temporary hut of branches and leaves (*kūriā*) which the people generally erect in the fields for the purpose of watching their crops, the superstition being that any one of the *Ḍelā Pāri* sept who sleeps in a *kūriā* at night will be carried off by a tiger. There is a tradition

* Risley—*Castes and Tribes of Bengal.*

among the Delā Pāri that they are an off-shoot of the Borgōchā stock of Bāro Malik in the plains of Bōd. Very little intercourse is maintained between the two people, but whenever the members of the two septs meet they treat each other as brethren and kinsmen and would never dream of proposing marriage between their children.

I have not been able to discover the totem of the Kāleā Pāri; but their story about the origin of a certain worship—perhaps the worship of the tutelary deity of the stock—is so remarkable that I cannot refrain from relating it at length.

Kalea in the Khond-Uriya colloquial dialect means black—like a thief in the night. The legend says that many generations ago a youth of the Tomūsmenḍi muthā in Gumsar while hunting in the forests came suddenly on a group of girls bathing in a mountain stream in a state of nature. The sight filled him with indelicate desires, but he dared not make his presence known to the fair bathers because they were his kinswomen, being of the same exogamous section as himself. The next day, and the day after, and for many days following, the amorous youth returned to the spot and watched the nymphs surreptitiously from behind a bush, until one fine day he was discovered. His improper overtures were repulsed with the greatest loathing by the indignant maidens, so in anger he caught up their clothes that were lying on the edge of the stream and disappeared into the jungles. Knowing that return to the village meant death, for the punishment for the crime of incest was instant death, he became a wanderer and eventually made his way to the Tin Pāri district where he founded the Kāleā Pāri or thief sept.

At a certain festival once a year the priest makes a rude flag by tying a piece of cloth to a pole and carries it in great solemnity from village to village. All the young men and women of the Kāleā Pāri stock follow in procession and chant obscene songs as a part of the ritual. The flag is then buried in the ground with much ceremony.

While trying to discover the totem of this interesting sept, I learnt that u chastity or incontinence was strict taboo to both women and men of the Kāleā Pāri stock. Immorality among the Khonds, and for the matter of that among the people of all communities, is unfortunately often looked upon as a social offence first and a sin afterwards. Among the Kāleā Pāri it is peculiarly a religious crime—a sacrilege that provokes the unappeasable wrath of the deity. As a proof of this it was pointed out to me that the character of the Kāleā Pāri women is irreproachable. There is a saying that no women of the Kāleā Pāri stock has ever yet been known to have gone astray.

I have not been able to decide whether the abstract quality,

immorality, is the totem of the sept, and whether the flag prepared by the priest is the symbolic representation—the materialization as it were of the intangible totem.

Siḍu in Khond means 'they are not.' A legend says the *Siḍu Pāri* formerly dwelt in caves. When strangers approached they disappeared like rabbits in a warren: hence the expression 'they are not.'

The *Siḍu Pāri* will not enter a cave or make an excavation like a well or tank. They have a religious ceremony—perhaps the worship of the tutelary deity of the stock—in which three slabs of stone, two planted perpendicularly in the ground with the third piece resting on top of the upright pieces, are made to represent a *gumpa* or cave within which a sacrifice is offered by the priest.

The Beṅgrikiā communes.—The *Beṅgrikiā* are made up of two muṭhas—*Bheṭimenḍi* and *Tuniāmenḍi*, the dominant stock in the latter being the *Beṅgri*, and in the former the *Bheṭi*. They are found directly to the south of the *Tin Pāri*.

The history of the *Beṅgri* is interesting. They are an off-shoot of a parent stock of *Nōso Gōro* in *Daspalla*. *Nōso* in the colloquial Khond-Uriya dialect means the nine cremations. A tradition says that nine families died suddenly (were extinguished) in the valley of the *Nōso Gōro*, and these were nine cremations. The remainder of the people fled in terror and became *beṅgchi* or *beṅgri*—dispersed. Hence the *Beṅgri* sept was formed.

But some of the people returned to the *Nōso Gōro* valley (it is not known what the name was when the calamity took place). Those who returned and settled (*buiche*) on the hill overlooking the valley became the *Buiche Gondā* (name of a sept and village). Those who ran away (*nārji*) for a short distance, but seeing the others on the hill came back to the valley because the *Nārji Poṅgā* (name of another sept and village). The main body of the *Beṅgri* went in a *dol* (band) and settled in *Dolpārā* (a village in *Tuniāmenḍi Muṭha* and the stronghold of the *Beṅgri* sept). This village of *Dolpārā* is also called *Nārji Poṅgā* or *Dolpārā Nārji Poṅgā* to distinguish it from the parent village in *Nōso Gōro*. The people of both *Nārji Poṅgā* villages and of *Buiche Gondā* are of the same blood and will not intermarry.

The story of the origin of the second main sept, the *Bheṭi*, is as follows:—Many generations ago the people of *Kādopadā*, a country in the modern tributary state of *Athmalik*, which Captain Macpherson wrote in 1841—"was lost to *Bōd* three generations ago,*" shot an

* Lieut. S. C. Macpherson—*Report upon the Khonds of the districts of Ganjam and Cuttack*.

arrow across the Mahānadi into the hills beyond, and afterwards went in search for it. Whenever they came to a village and could not find the arrow they set fire to the houses with the *bheṭi* (torch).

The Bheṭi are found in two dominant septs, bearing the same name and being admittedly of the same blood, in two different parts of the Khond Māls—in Bengrikiā south of the Tin Pāri, and in Bheṭ Dāngāri west of the Chhōtā Pāju. Besides these, families of the stock are seen scattered all over the country as far south as the Bāro Muṭha and Athro Muṭha districts in Gumsar—a hundred miles away from Kāḍopadā. One powerful sub-sept in Bheṭkhole in the Upor Chāro Kombo district has been agitating for some years to be constituted into a separate administrative unit or muṭha distinct from the muṭha in which their group of villages lie.

The Bheṭi and Dāngāri are two equally dominant stocks in the Bheṭ Dāngāri district, and they appear to be kindred septs like the pairs of totems found in the Tin Kombo communes of which I shall give an account presently. The Dāngāri will not touch anything that has been scorched or burnt, but I have not been able to determine their totem.

Unlike the Chhōtā Pāju, the Tin Kombo, and other similarly constituted communes, which have a tutelary deity that is not one of the totems of the stocks in the commune, the Bheṭi septs retain their totem as their tutelary deity, and do not possess a separate communal tutelary deity. This seems to show that before the British occupation and the peace it introduced in place of the constant shuffling of stocks that resulted from tribal fights, there was a tendency for various totem stocks to unite together for purposes of defence and offence and to become what might be called a small nation. Even at the present day the arbitrary union of various stocks under a common chief influences in a marked manner the re-arrangement of exogamous groups, for the different totem stocks in the newly formed administrative unit gradually cease to intermarry. This integration of diverse elements into one brotherhood should be, I think, an important factor in the consideration of the question of the origin of exogamy.

The totem of the Bheṭi stock is the *bheṭi*—a rope made of twisted straw which on being lit smoulders for a long time and furnishes fire to a people who have not yet learnt the luxury of using lucifer matches. The *bheṭi* is of course taboo to the sept.

Notwithstanding the efforts I made I was unable to get satisfactory information about the totem of the parent stock of Kāḍopadā from which all the Bheṭi people claim to be descended. I was assured it is not the *bheṭi* but an animal.

Aṭh Kombo communes.—The Aṭh Kombo or eight divisions are also known as the Upor Chāro Kombo (upper four divisions) and the Tol Chāro Kombo (lower four divisions). They form a very loose confederacy of two communes, each of which is sub-divided into four sub-communes containing numerous totem stocks.

The federal chief of the Aṭh Kombo is styled the *Boro Kuṇāro*—just as the federal patriarch of the Chhōṭā Pāju is known as the *Mahā Maliko*. The family of the Boro Kuṇāro is supposed to have come from Chhatāba Sōru in the Keonjhar State.

The Tol Chāro Kombo are in the plains of Bōd. The people are practically Uriyas and speak the Uriya language; and the Boro Kuṇāro who lives like a tribal chief in great state has a brahmin cook (*pūjhāri*) and a Hindu barber (*bhaṇḍari*) as his personal servants.

Human sacrifices are supposed never to have been offered in the Tol Chāro Kombo country, and therefore—"the ground is still raw and full of ghosts and evil spirits." These evil spirits—"bhūeni, sāth bhowni, pethni, etc., mercilessly afflict human beings and domestic animals with all kinds of diseases and calamities."

The Upar Chāro Kombo, also called the Rattābāri Khonds, dwell in the greatly broken country on the edge of the Khond Māls plateau and bear the nickname of thief, because they used to sweep down to the valley of the Mahānadi which has been for ages the high road between Central India and Orissa, and plunder the pilgrims on their way to Jagānāth.

Captain Macpherson found the Rattābāri Khonds greatly addicted to performing the human sacrifice.* Even at the present day, there is an idea among the Khonds of the adjacent communes, that the rite is carried on in secret in the deep ravines in which the hamlets of the Upor Chāro Kombo are situated.

A numerically important totem sept found scattered in both the Chāro Kombo country is the *kāṇsāri* (mallard). The members of the sept relate a quaint story about their origin from the egg of a *kāṇsāri*, which story is probably an imitation of the legend of the *Bhanj* royal family of Bōd having been produced from the egg of a peafowl.

One of the totem septs of the Tol Chāro Kombo is the *siāli*. The *siāli* is a gigantic creeper yielding a tough fibre that is made into rope. The legend says that the historic founder of the sept was discovered by some hunters in the jungles, clinging to a *siāli* creeper which he had climbed up. He was perhaps a fugitive from some unknown tribe and

* Lieut. S. C. Macpherson—Report upon the Khonds of the districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.

was taken into the Tel Chāro Kombo commune. The *siāli* is taboo to the sept.

Tin Kombo communes.—I can find room for only a list of some of the totems in the confederacy of the Tin Kombo or Three Divisions which lie to the south-west of the Upar Chāro Kombo.

<i>Name of sept.</i>		<i>Totem.</i>
{ Terār	...	... Tender shoot of the bamboo.
{ Mārār	...	... Fruit of the <i>sāl</i> (<i>shorea robusta</i>).
{ Domsing,	...	... Totem of both septs not clear.
{ Bāising	...	... They are supposed to be descended from a <i>dōmnā</i> : hence the name dōmsing for the elder branch, and bāising (from <i>baiyā</i> , a fool) for the younger.
{ Kōski	...	... Horn (of an animal.)
{ Rābo	...	... ?
{ Dārusā	...	... Trunk of a certain tree.
{ Tipurā	...	... Branch of the same tree.
{ Ōdilā	...	... A she-bear.
{ Gājilā	...	... Cloth worn round the loins by a woman.
{ Gōiso	...	... The lac insect.
{ Bāiso	...	... The <i>pālās</i> (<i>Butea frondosa</i>) on which lac is generally cultivated.
{ Gōindi	...	... Totem of both septs not clear.
{ Māindi	...	... Gōindi will not eat mixed food, e.g., meat and rice. Māindi affect ceremonial purity and will not touch a stranger.

It will be observed that the names go in pairs; and in some cases, as for instance *dōmsing bāising*, *dārusā tipurā*, *gōiso bāiso*, *gōindi māindi*, the pairs appear to be clearly off-shoots from one parent stock. These pairs may be what Mr. L. H. Morgan terms phratries or kinship divisions.*

Wilder septs of the West Khond Māls and Gumsar.—Some specimens of totems of the wilder septs of the West Khond Māls and Gumsar are:—*pānā* (frog), *srāsu* (snake), *ṭīṭeri* (button quail), *gūṇḍeri* (lesser florican), *dāāk* (crow pheasant), *irpi* (mohul: *bassia latifolia*), *sōlā* (grass).

* J. G. Frazer—*Totemism*.

III.—EXOGAMIC LAWS OF THE KHONDS.

In the matter of marriage prohibitions the Khonds appear to have a series of exogamic circles that beginning with the smallest unit—the *gochi* or commune—goes on expanding until it reaches a circumference of truly stupendous magnitude in the totem.

The circle of actual prohibition is the commune, for a man may on no account marry within its limits even though it consist of widely different totem stocks. He must always seek for a wife outside the commune, but subject to certain restrictions.

First, he may not marry a woman of another totem stock if she belongs to a commune in *alliance* with his own commune.

For instance, the *Ḍela Pāri*, the *Kāleā Pāri*, and the *Siḍu Pāri*, are three distinct communes (I will not stop to enquire what fragments of stocks go to make up each commune); but because from immemorial times these three communes have acted jointly for purposes of offence and defence they form a fictitious brotherhood, and therefore the members of the three communes may not intermarry. The prohibition extends to every one of the constituent blood stocks of each of the three communes.

Secondly, a man may not marry a woman of another commune, whatever her totem may be, if it is *known* or *supposed* or *believed* that she belong to the same blood stock as himself.

Thus at the present moment the *Bheṭi* stock is found in different communes, e.g., *Bheṭ Ḍāṅgeri*, *Beṅgrikiā*, *Bheṭkhole* (Upor *Chāro Kombo*), and in parts of *Bāro Muṭha* and *Aṭhro Muṭha* in *Gumsar*. Although they are separated by lesser or greater distances from each other and although they belong to communes not in alliance and sometimes even at variance with each other, still all these sections of the same stock know that they are of the same blood (it may be a fiction), and therefore they will not intermarry. In this case all the sections happen to bear the same totem name, so we shall go a step further for a fuller illustration.

All the *Bheṭi* totem septs believe they are descended from a common parent stock of *Kāḍopadā*, and therefore although the totem of the supposed parent stock is different from their own totem still they will not intermarry with the parent stock. Similarly, the *Kāleā Pāri* will not intermarry with the *Tomūsmeṇḍi* sept in *Gumsar*, although their totem names are different, because of the belief of their common origin.

Thirdly, a man may not marry a woman of another commune whatever her totem may be, if it is *suspected* she belongs to the same stock as himself.

It appears quite certain that the Chhōtā Pāju came into the Khond Māls as a horde composed of fragments of various stocks under the leadership of six kinsmen who gave their names to the territorial [areas (muṭha) in which they settled with their followers. The Chhōtā Pāju clan has now reached the higher stage of development where each section of the clan calls itself, not after its totem, but after its territory named from its founder. For instance a Khond of the Ḍurā (cudgel) or Chīṭā Krāṇḍi (chameleon) totem stock of the Ḍuṭemēṇḍi mutha will, on being asked what his Klambo or sept is, reply—Ḍuti and not Ḍurā or Chīṭā Krāṇḍi. Now, there happens to be a commune called Ḍuṭkāmeṇḍi somewhere near the Ḍoḍa Sōru hill, quite fifty miles away from the Chhōtā Pāju district. There is a suspicion that the Ḍuṭimeṇḍi and Ḍuṭkāmeṇḍi communes have both been named from a common ancestor because of the similarity of their names and of the tradition that the Chhōtā Pāju dwelt for many generations round about the Ḍoḍa Sōru hill. The two communes therefore will not intermarry. They will not even proceed to the further test of similarity of totems. The wider totem relationship gives way to the narrower one of suspicion of kinship.

Finally, a man may not marry a woman who is a perfect stranger to him if he discovers she has the same totem as himself. This is the widest form of prohibition, and it is only suppositious, because a man will always hesitate to marry a woman whose family is not known to him.

In connection with this widest circle of totem prohibition, I shall relate a curious instance of how a quest for lost kindred was made by means of the totem.

Some years ago it was found necessary to import a number of labourers consisting of Kols and Kharias from Sambalpur for the construction of a hill road in the Khond Māls. The labourers had frequently to camp out in the jungles at the place where the work was in progress, and thus the Khond sub-overseer, an intelligent and literate man of the Ḍuṭimeṇḍi *gajesvar* family, had numerous opportunities of conversing with the workmen while they sat round their camp fire during the long winter evenings. Recollecting that the ancestors of the Chhōtā Pāju were supposed to have come originally from the regions about Sambalpur, the Khond questioned the totemistic Kols and Kharias in a manner that peculiarly appealed to them, by asking them if they knew of any people in Sambalpur with the elephant totem. The reply was—there were no Khonds in Sambalpur, but there was a Hindu caste (probably a section of the Ahirs) who called themselves *hāti* (elephant). On this the Khond sub-overseer became quite satisfied in his mind that

he had at last discovered the kinsmen whose existence he had always suspected, although they were removed from him by as many generations as covered a period of over one thousand years.

The rules for the prevention of consanguineous marriages in the maternal line of descent are of the usual kind, and I shall therefore not discuss them here.

IV.—ORIGIN OF TOTEMISM.

Considering that totemism is a characteristic feature of the social and religious institutions of all the primitive races throughout the world—the Bushmen of Australia, the Indians of North America, the Negroes of Africa, the Aborigines of India—it is remarkable that no observer has as yet succeeded in discovering a totem in the actual process of formation. If the cause of totemism is a force that is universal in its application and wide-spread in its range it is exceedingly strange that the force should not be visibly at work among the totemistic peoples at the present day.

Such a great authority as Mr. Frazer observes—"No satisfactory explanation of the origin of totemism has yet been given. Mr. Herbert Spencer finds the origin of totemism in a 'mis-interpretation of nicknames.' The objection to this view is that it attributes to verbal misunderstandings far more influence than in spite of the so-called comparative mythology they ever seemed to have exercised. Sir John Lubbock also thinks that totemism arose from the habit of naming persons and families after animals; but in dropping the intermediate links of ancestor worship and verbal misunderstandings he has stripped the theory of all that lent it an air of plausibility."*

Mr. Risley says—"We are justified in defining the totem as we find it in India as an ancient nickname, usually derived from some animal, of the supposed founder of an exogamous sept, now stripped of its personal associations, and remembered solely in virtue of the part it plays in giving effect to the rule of exogamy."†

It will be seen from my account of the Khonds that their exogamic laws are of the communal form, based on real or fictitious blood relationship between members of the various stocks making up the commune, but subject always to the wider totemistic circle of prohibition that lies outside the limits of the commune. Hence we may not unreasonably conclude that the only connection between totemism and exogamy, at least among the Khonds, is in this—that the former serves to mark to a primitive people who possess no written characters to record

* J. G. Frazer—*Totemism.*

† Risley—*Castes and Tribes of Bengal.*

kinship and descent as they begin to get more remote in time the distinction between separate stocks of blood. In other words, totemism is merely a guide for the observance of the rules of exogamy: it is not the cause that originated or evolved those rules.

The explanation—if any explanation be possible—of the origin of totemism must, therefore, be sought for, not in its social, but in its religious aspect.

In its religious aspect totemism is a superstitious reverence—a reverential awe—a savage feels for his totem as the protecting spirit or tutelary deity of the stock whose name he bears, and the respectful feeling he entertains towards the totem class on account of the idea that it is a manifestation of the totem-god.

If we examine what position the totem tutelary deity occupies in the Khond pantheon, and what ritual is observed in his worship, I think we get an indication of a connection between totemism and animism, and between totemism and the further development of animism, namely, ancestor worship.

Mr. Andrew Lang in tracing the development of myths to the earliest period of human society, finds that primitive man was easily led to believe from the analogy of his own soul that every object, both animate and inanimate, was possessed of a spirit like himself. Proceeding a step further, primitive man argued on the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* form of reasoning that would come so naturally to a simple savage mind, that the various accidents and events in life were to be accounted for only as the acts of spirits or demons who pervade the whole universe and dwell in every natural and artificial object. Finally, the third stage was reached when he conceived that the spirits or demons that took up their abode in particular objects, as in a certain animal or tree, were the souls of deceased persons, especially of deceased ancestors; and from this idea arose the divine worship of manes and the rite of sacrificing to the dead.*

In every Khond dwelling one of the corners of the main room is held sacred to *pidāri pitā*, just as in a Russian peasant household the space behind the stove is supposed to be the abode of *domovoy*, the representative of the spirits of dead ancestors. It is in this corner that the special sacrifices to *pidāri pitā* are performed by the *pidāri guru* or special priest of the cult. When for instance the bride price consisting of so many head of cattle is taken to the father of the girl, the *pidāri guru* of the girl's family sacrifices one of the cows, which has been specially included for that purpose in the bride price, and offers its

* Andrew Lang—*Myth, Ritual, and Religion.*

blood to the spirits of ancestors in the corner where they are supposed to dwell. The ordinary ritual in offering a sacrifice to any of the deities is to invoke all the deities—*Dharmo Penu*, *Tānā Penu*, the nature godlings, the village demons, the tutelary god of the community, and the manes of ancestors and friends. But in this special sacrifice to *pidāri pitā* the other deities are not invited, as the ceremony is a purely domestic one. The *pidāri guru* calls on the spirits of the girl's grandparents and great-grand-parents (if they are dead), and step by step of all the ancestors—sometimes collectively if the names are not known—until he reaches the totem. Similarly, he invokes the spirits of the ancestors of the bridegroom going backwards from generation to generation until he arrives also at the totem. Then he addresses the ancestor spirits and calls on them to witness the nuptials of their descendants, and exhorts them to enter into the bonds friendship with each other. Again, at a special sacrifice to *pidāri pitā*, when after a bad dream *Jomu Penu* or the night goblin has to be propitiated, the *pidāri guru* pours out a libation of liquor and invokes the ancestor spirits, including the totem, to protect their descendant from the demon of dreams.

When a totem is of the impure type, by which I mean an inanimate and especially an artificial object like the *bheṭi* (torch), familiarity deadens the feelings, and probably a Khond of the Bheṭi stock will not be very particular about performing a ceremony of propitiation when he sees his totem. But when it is a living animal, and especially one that is not likely to be seen every day,—say a chameleon,—the impression on the mind is more vivid, and a Khond of the Chitā Krāṇḍi stock on meeting his totem during a journey, will turn back at once and will tell his relations in an awed whisper, "*Māi penu meh'tē* (I have seen our god)." And the *pidāri guru* will be sent for to perform a propitiatory sacrifice and to discover the cause that has actuated the deity to manifest himself.

It will be apparent, therefore, that in the religious observances of the Khonds, the totem ranks as the spirit of the ancestor founder of the stock, who is also the chief tutelary deity of the stock, and secondly, the totem class is considered as a manifestation of the chief tutelary deity.

In my account of the Tin Kombo Khonds I have noticed the existence of phratries or kinship divisions where pairs of totem septs seem to be offshoots from one parent stem. These phratries or ramifications from a common stock are quite visible in the case of some of the Australian aborigines who possess two totems,—one the totem of the stock or tribe, and the other the totem of the sept or family.*

* J. G. Frazer—*Totemism.*

A new totem must in the ordinary course of things spring from an older parent stem. A condition favourable for the formation of a new totem would be where an individual for some grave reason separates himself from the original stock. As the natural tendency would be against such a separation, for a man always clings tenaciously to his own stock, the infrequency of new totems becomes explicable.

Again, the Khonds are a particularly reticent people in all matters relating to their Lares. I have been assured that it is not unusual for even the *pidari-guru* to be quite ignorant of the totem of a family for whom he officiates, as the head of the family always mumbles the totem name at the proper time in the ceremony, and thus avoids disclosing it to the priest. It may be, therefore, that when a new totem does actually come into existence once in a while, the fact is carefully concealed on account of superstitious scruples, and the new totem is not published to the world until its origin is obscured by a mass of conflicting stories. This would account for the invisibility during the process of formation of new totems.

Now if we concede there is an element of truth in the legends I have related about the origin of certain totems, we find on examining the story of say the Bheṭi stock, that a horde of savages burst into the hills of the Khond Māls, and in attempting to secure a footing amongst other stocks of people, devastated the country by burning the villages with torches or fire-brands. Parenthetically, I should mention that even at the present day a Khond of the Bheṭi stock is looked upon with peculiar fear and distrust as a person who can invoke and make use of a powerful demon-god—the tutelary deity of the stock—in the committing of arson for the sake of revenge. We may therefore conjecture that the pioneers of the Bheṭi stock, on meeting with success, were filled with a superstition on account of some omen or dream or other accompanying incident that the spirit of their progenitor, that is, the tutelary deity of the stock, was helping them on to victory by means, or in the shape of, their instrument of offence—the Bheṭi. Simultaneously the vanquished tribesmen were filled with a similar superstition that the tutelary deity of the ravaging horde was aiding his descendants and votaries in the form of the terrible torch that was committing such havoc among them.

Again, let us take as another example the Mohri or clarionet stock of the Chhōṭa Paju commune. The legend is not full, but we might conjecture that the recent or historical founder of the stock may have had a turning point in his life when the instrument of his profession—the *mohri*—in unison with the usual accompanying omen or dream of other similar phenomenon, which was interpreted to mean an

intervention of the protecting spirit of the pre-historic founder of the stock, helped him to raise his status from a position of servility to one of equality and brotherhood with the dominant people of pure Khond blood.

When the people of the Mohri stock attend a marriage or other ceremony, they have first of all to make obeisance to the clarionets of the low-caste Pāno musicians even at the risk of provoking the laughter of some irreverent spectator. On the *Sri Panchami* day the high-caste Aryan clerks in our Government offices worship the spirit of the pen and ink-pot by means of which they earn their bread. This is a relic of animism. Whenever the Khonds of the Mohri stock have occasion to see the clarionet, they venerate it as a manifestation of their tutelary god, and the *mohri* is strict taboo to them. This is something more than animism: it is pure totemism.

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Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes, inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.—By MAJOR P. R. T. GURDON, Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam. (With plates III—IV).

[Read 3rd August, 1904.]

1. *Physical characteristics.*—The men are seldom tall; they are generally well made, and possess great strength of limb,—of leg in particular. Their features show a resemblance to those of the Japanese; their complexions are fair, noses flat, lips thick, and eyes very frequently obliquely set. The women are good-looking, of a buxom type, and are cheerful and pleasant-mannered. Children are sometimes exceedingly pretty. Khasis are inveterate chewers of *pán*,—both men, women, and children; the distances from place to place being measured by the number of betel-nuts that can be chewed on the journey. The hair of the males is shaved above the forehead pretty high up, and the remainder is gathered into a knot at the back of the head. Very few Khasis have much hair about the face. Both Khasis and Syntengs wear the sleeveless coat (*jymphong*) loin-cloth, *jain slieng* (a kind of

small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (*ka tupia shkor*) ear cap. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Synteng, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jympien*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Synteng woman wears a cloth smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and drooping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Synteng women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mohkklieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knickerbockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of elaborate pattern: The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by women also on *gala* occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef, owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not changed for generations,—and they appear to be much attached to these sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, where odds and ends, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *nengpei*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *rumpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said indeed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mohkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the

¹ Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for year 1830,¹ is extensively cultivated and forms 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*Lutyrapad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

custom prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Siem (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special customs of inheritance for each of the different chiefships.

3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, trees or fish,—e.g., the *tham* clan, *tham* meaning a crab; the *shrieh* clan, *shrieh* meaning a monkey; the *rani* clan, so called from a fish by name *rani*; the *diengdoh* clan, *diengdoh* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In each instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There thus appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilizing them. A man when he marries does not cease to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the marriarchate, Khasi and Synteng women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general insinuations, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their sexual relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Manipuri sisters make all the bazar purchases.

4. *Ancestor worship*.—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Iawbei*, the first maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thawlang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

5. *Birth customs*.—At the birth the navel of a child must not be severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the latter is *sang*, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the day of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and buries it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, powdered rice is placed on a sieve (*u prah*) and a small bow and three arrows, if the child is a male, and a *wait* (or *da*) and a star or (cane strap) (worn across the forehead when carrying a load by the Khasis), if the

child is a female. Up to the present time I have not discovered any trace of the *couvade*.

6. *Marriage ceremony*.—Marriage is a purely civil contract. The most prominent features of the Khasi marriage are the following :—

- (a) The *pynhiar synjat*, or betrothal.
- (b) The pouring out of libations of liquor to *Ka Iawbei* (the first maternal ancestress).
- (c) The eating by bride and bridegroom out of the same plate.
- (d) The mixing of liquor by the *ksiangs*, or go-betweens.
- (e) The taking of the bride to the house of mother of the bridegroom, where a ring is placed on her finger by her mother-in-law.

7. *Divorce* can be easily obtained amongst the Khasis. Adultery, want of issue, and incompatibility of temper, are some of the more frequent causes. The usual ceremony of divorce is as follows :—The husband hands the wife five cowries, or pice. The wife hands these back to the husband, with five of her own. The man then either throws them away or hands them over to some village elder, who throws them away. Divorce is then complete.

8. *Death, ceremonies*.—The corpse is bathed and laid on its back. A fowl's egg (*ka'lengkypoh*) is then placed on the navel. A cock (*ku' iarkrad lynti* = the fowl that scratches the way) is sacrificed. The limbs of the fowl and its feathers are placed in a bamboo basket, which is hung up near the head of the corpse. Rich people sacrifice a cow also, called *ka masi pynsum*. When a cow is sacrificed it is shot through the heart with an arrow. From the time of bathing the body till it is burned, offerings are offered daily; these offerings are called *ai ja miet ja step*. It is the custom amongst some to place the corpse in a long narrow box or coffin, which has been hollowed out of the trunk of a tree; this is called *ka shyngoid*. When this procedure is adopted, a small pig, which is killed by a spear (*u narsuh*) is sacrificed. This sacrifice takes place during the night. A goat (*U lang sait ksuid* = a goat to wash the devil)—which is believed to be a scapegoat to bear the sins of the deceased—is sacrificed. The corpse is then taken outside and placed on a bamboo bier (*ka krong*). When the *shyngoid* is used it is placed inside the bier. Some rice is scattered on the ground, and water is poured from a *lhotu*. On arrival at the burning-place, the bier, with the corpse in it, is placed on the pyre, or *jingthang*. The egg placed on the navel is then broken on a plank and a fowl (*Ka iar padat*) is sacrificed. Two arrows are shot, one to the east and another to the west (this is a Khasi custom only); the arrows are intended for the protection of the spirit on its way to another world. Fire is then applied to the pyre.

When the body has been burnt, the ashes and the uncalcined bones are collected by the relatives of the deceased and washed. They are then placed in a dish (*ka pliang*) which is taken to a stone repository for the bones (*mawshieng*); here a further sacrifice takes place. For three days after the burning, the maternal relatives frequent the *mawshieng*, where they offer articles of food for the spirit of the departed to eat, and then three eggs are broken (called *shat leng lait ia*) in order to ascertain what is the cause of death. Until this egg-breaking has taken place the family is taboo. The ashes and the uncalcined bones are subsequently removed from the *mawshieng*, and are placed in the family mausoleum, or *mawbah*. On this occasion a special ceremony takes place.

9. *Divination by breaking eggs.*—As this is a very peculiar custom, it deserves some description. Shadwell describes it as follows:—

Each case of sickness or other calamity is attributed to the influence of some evil spirit, and the first step is to ascertain what particular spirit has been at work, and for this the great institution of egg-healing is brought into play. An expert (but not a professional) sits down before a board, in the centre of which he places an egg on a few grains of rice; after invoking the egg to speak the truth, he sweeps the rice off the board, excepting one grain left on any spot fancy dictates. Then naming a particular spirit, he asks that if he be the cause of evil, a part of the shell of the egg may be deposited near the grain of rice; he then strikes the egg sharply on the centre of the board. This process is repeated, if necessary, till the required information is obtained. The next thing is to discover what sort of offering will be acceptable to the spirit. This is ascertained in a precisely similar way, but the desired result is often not arrived at till much time and many eggs have been expended.

I have personally witnessed this egg-breaking and can vouch for the correctness of Mr. Shadwell's description. The Khasis do nothing of what they consider to be of the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. I have quoted the description of egg-breaking at length, as I am informed that there is some similar custom extant in the Arracan Hill Tracts. I hope that it will be possible to ascertain whether or not there is any similar custom in Burma.

10. *Khasi archery*—Archery is a regular institution amongst the Khasis, who are very fond of it. Archery may be described as the Khasi national game. There are regular archery contests between the people of different villages, one village challenging another to shoot off a match. Certain conditions are fixed, such as the date and place of the match, the number of arrows to be shot by the archers, the distinguishing marks to be given to arrows of the two different sides, etc.,

etc. The targets are of two kinds, i.e., *u skum*, which is made of a bundle of grass about 1 foot long and 4 inches in diameter, the target being fastened on to a pole; and from the root of a plant called *sohpdung*. The distance for the shooting is about 30 to 40 yards.

Before the shooting begins, a *nongknia*, or sacrificer, performs a *puja* and then the shooting commences. Each archer subscribes from half to one anna, the total amount so obtained is pooled and then wagered against a similar sum subscribed by the other side. Whilst the shooting is going on the men of both sides dance and sing, and when there is a hit a great shout, or *kynhoi*, is raised. The side that wins the match, after rewarding the *nongknia* and the man who makes the targets, buys a pig, and some liquor, which articles are partaken of by the people of the village which has won the match. In the War villages, and amongst the Syntengs, sometimes wagers of considerable sums are made in lump sums in these contests.

11. It is not intended to describe at great length the Khasi religious system, but only to note briefly regarding it at present, a full account being reserved for the monograph for the preparation of which I am collecting further information. Khasi religion is animism, or spirit worship. It may be divided into (a) the worship of spirits, (b) ancestor worship.

(a) *Spirit worship*.—The principal god amongst the Khasis is God the Creator (*U'lei Nongthaw*), who is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, the use of the feminine gender being no doubt due to matriarchal influence. A yearly sacrifice should be offered to this god of a cock and a goat. The cock is sacrificed as a substitute for man, it being thought that the cock, when killed, bears the sins of the man, and that by its sacrifice man will obtain redemption. How the cock came to occupy this important position in Khasi religion is not at present quite clear. Perhaps there were originally human sacrifices amongst the Khasis, and the cock nowadays takes the place of the human victim. Other gods which are worshipped are *Ka'lei long kur* (the goddess of the clan), *Ka'lei longspah* (the goddess of wealth), *U'lei um tong* (god of water). An important fact to be noted is that the Khasi gods or goddesses are never worshipped in the shape of idols in any form whatsoever.

(b) *Ancestor worship*.—I am inclined to think that this form of worship largely underlies the Khasi religious system. The following are some of the ancestors or ancestresses who are regularly worshipped:—

(1) *Ka Iawbei tymmen*,—the primeval ancestress of the family. A pig is sacrificed to her.

(2) *U'suid' nia*, —or departed maternal great-uncle.

(3) *U thaw lang*, —or departed great-grandfather.

A very striking feature of the Khasi religion is the use of the leaves of the *dingsning* (*Q lanceæfolia*) or Khasi oak tree. The leaves of this tree are used to cover the sacrificial knife, a sprig of the oak is implanted in the ground before the sacrifices of fowls or goats take place, an oak bough is hung up inside the house along with the jaw-bones and horns of sacrificed animals and the feathers of fowls. A great post of oak is to be found within the *arcana* of the sacred residence of the Siem priestess of Khyrim, the custodian of the religion of the State of that name. Another feature is the use of altars of stone on certain ceremonial occasions, and no Khasi religious ceremony takes place without the use of a small gourd *u klong* from which libation are poured out to the gods. Dancing always accompanies ceremonies of any importance, *e.g.*, funeral ceremonies, the erection of memorial stones, and the great *puja* of the Siems of Nongkrem.

12. *Memorial stones.*—These are without doubt the most prominent feature connected with these people. The first thing that strikes any visitor to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the immense number of these stones. The latter are placed in a line, a higher one in the centre, and lower ones on each side. The centre monolith is occasionally covered with a round flat stone. The upright stones are always in uneven numbers, being in sets of three, five, seven, or even nine stones. In front of each set of three stones is placed one horizontal stone, or *cromlech* which rests on three or four small upright stones, the horizontal stone being raised to about one foot from the ground. If five upright stones are erected, two horizontal stones are placed in front of them, and if seven are erected three, and so on. There can be no doubt that these stones possess considerable significance, but what exactly that significance is I am at present engaged in investigating. As far as my information extends at present, I give the following explanation.

Memorial stones may be divided for the present into two classes—

- (a) Stones erected by the family, or *kur*, in accordance with the Khasi custom of ancestor worship.
- (b) Stones which are erected by children in honour of a deceased parent.

It should be remarked that both classes of stones are merely *cenotaphs*, the *mansoleums* of the ancestors or the parents often being nowhere near the places where the memorial stones are erected. Taking class (a) first: Supposing that five upright stones are erected and two horizontal stones as depicted in plate III.

Stone No. 3 in the middle is called *U Maw Kni*, i.e., the stone of the maternal uncle, Nos. 2 and 4 are called *Ki pyrsa*, *Ki para*, i.e., the brothers or sisters, and the nephews or nieces. No. 1 is called *U Maw Ksing*, i.e., the stone of the drum, and No. 5 *U Maw kait*, the stone of the plantain. No. 6 is called *Ka Iawbei tynrai*. The word *tynrai* meaning root, *Ka Iawbei tynrai* signifies the first maternal grandmother of the family. The above is the system of naming stones in Maoshai Raj—other systems will be described in the monograph.

* *Class (b).*—Stones of this class are generally, I am informed, three in number, consisting of three upright stones as shown in plate IV and a flat stone in front, as in the case of stones falling under class (a) :

Here there is a marked difference in that the big stone in the middle is called *U Maw thawlong*, or the stone of the generator or father. Nos. 1 and 3 are the brothers or the male cousins of the father, and No. 4 is erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*, or the grandmother of the father, —not the first ancestress of the clan, as in the case in stones falling under class (a). The post split at its top containing the jawbone of a bullock which has been sacrificed in honour of the deceased parent should be observed, *vide* Fig. B. It was formerly the custom and is still in some places the custom, to spread offerings upon the flat stones to appease the spirits of the deceased ancestors. These stones, which are only 2 to 3 feet from the ground, suggest the idea of sacrificial tables at some time or other. Stones 3, 4, and 5 in Fig. A are between 9 and 10 feet high, but there are several larger *menhirs* in these hills.

The description of the stones in figures A and B was given me by a man of some intelligence at Nongkrem, but many different explanations of the names, and regarding the significance of these stones, are given by other persons living in various parts of the hills, and it is not unlikely that the account I have tentatively advanced may have to be modified subsequently. The system of each clan, apparently, varies to some extent from the other, and in some cases to a very considerable degree. In the Jaintia Hills very large groups of stones are found near villages, which are thought by the Syntengs to have been merely erected by the sides of roads as *Maw-shong-thait*, or seats for weary travellers, or for persons attending markets. At one place in the Jaintia Hills memorial stones were erected to commemorate a woman, *Ka Kumpat-wut*, who in generations past is said to have had thirty husbands. It may, however, be stated that no such polyandrous custom has been found at the present day. The stones are reported to be thirty in number. There are also many stones at a place on the road from Shillong to Jowai said to have been erected to commemorate those who fell in a battle between the Syntengs and one of the Khasi Siems.

As mentioned before, these stones are not gravestones, they are shaped, both the vertical and the horizontal stones, remarkably like the pictures of *menhirs* and *dolmens* that appear in Fergussons's work on rude stone monuments. It is a remarkable fact that Dalton mentions the existence of apparently very similar memorial stones in certain *Ho* and *Munda* villages in Chota Nagpur, and there is a drawing to be found at page 52 of Yule's Embassy to the Court of Ava of a *cromlech* which is apparently very like the *cromlechs* or *mawkynthei* to be met with every day in these hills. It is most unfortunate that the Khasis, owing to their want of a written language in former days, possess no written accounts of these stones, and that the Khasis of the present day are so very vague in their ideas about them, for I am inclined to believe that the proper elucidation of this question of memorial stones may prove to be the key to the origin of these people. I therefore strongly advise that a very careful search be made for similar stones, such as I have described, in other parts of India. It is possible that the Khasis may have found monoliths erected by some prehistoric race when they arrived in the Khasi Hills, and they may have adopted the custom of erecting memorial stones by the force of example, but the use of such stones seems to fit in with the Khasi system of ancestor worship, and it is remarkable that the shapes of the stones should be so very similar to those which exist in England, Ireland and Brittany, and I believe also in Denmark and Scandinavia. Is the custom of erecting such memorial stones in any way connected with people practising the matriarchate? The whole subject is a deeply interesting one, and I hope that it may be possible to throw some light on it.

13. *Taboo*.—The Khasis have an elaborate system of *sang*, or taboo. There are very many different kinds of *sang*, but some of them are the following :—

Special taboo, at time of pregnancy.—(a) It is *sang* for a pregnant woman to accompany a funeral procession.

(b) It is *sang* for a woman in the first stage of pregnancy to finish any sewing which she may have commenced before she became *enceinte*. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(c) It is *sang* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the roof of a house at such a time.

(d) It is *sang* under similar circumstances to fix an axe or a *dao* in a handle.

Ordinary taboos.—(i) It is *sang* to build a house with stone walls on all four sides,

- (ii) It is *sang* to use nails in fixing the timber of a house.
- (iii) The *dypei*, or hearth, should be made of one kind of timber only.
- (iv) To build a house with resinous timber (*'seh khlein*). Only the Siem's family can use such timber.
- (v) To cut trees from the sacred forest.
- (vi) To take or give anything with the left hand.
- (vii) To step over the body of any person.
- (viii) To kill a fowl or a goat without throwing first rice over the body of the victim.
- (ix) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.
- (x) To talk with any one, except with those who are working together, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.
- (xi) Not to give fire or water when anyone demands the same.
- (xii) A twin birth is *sang*. It is a more serious matter even than *sang* if the twins are of opposite sexes.

There are rules of *sang* regarding marriages within prohibited degrees of relationship, and there is a very stringent rule of *sang* against marrying within the *kur*, or clan. Those who do this are excommunicated and their bones or ashes are not allowed to be placed in the family mausoleum. To marry within the same *kur*, or clan, is the greatest crime a Khasi can commit.

There are special rules of *sang* affecting certain families, e.g., for the clan *Nongtathiang* to eat a certain kind of lemon, for the clan *Kharumnuid* to eat pork, for the Cherra Siem's family to eat dry fish, for the family of the Siem of Myllem to eat the pumpkin. Possibly, these taboos may be relics of totemism in these families.

14. *The Thlen superstition.*—The following succinct account of this interesting superstition appeared on page 254, paragraph 20, of the *Assam Gazette* of the 5th August 1882. I do not think I can do better than repeat it here: "The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji a gigantic snake, or *Thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats and set himself down by the cave and offered them one by one to the *Thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red hot lump, and so killed him. He then cut up the body and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was

obeyed, the country became free of the *Thlen*: but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of *Thlens*, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a *Thlen* takes up its abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows property of the family when given away or sold. The *Thlen* attaches itself to wealth, and brings prosperity and wealth to the family, but on the condition that it is supplied *with blood*. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals: and manifests itself by sickness among the family, by misadventure, or increasing poverty. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being. The murderer takes the hair, the tips of the fingers, and a little blood from the nostril, caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *Thlen*. The belief is that the demon then appears in the form of a snake and devours the body of the murdered person, which is materialised from the portions thus offered. After this, its craving is satisfied for a time, and the affairs of that house prosper. Many families in these hills are known or suspected to be *Ri-thlen*, or keepers of a *Thlen*, and are dreaded and avoided in consequence. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks above described on it (and particularly if it is with no wound, and death has been caused by twisting the neck), it may be presumed with almost absolute certainty that the object of the murder was to appease a *Thlen*."

It may be stated that, as far as I am aware in Assam, this superstition is peculiar to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and it is not to be met with amongst any of the other hill-tribes of the province. It would be specially interesting to learn whether there are any traces of a similar superstition amongst any of the tribes of Burma and Further India. The *Thlen* superstition is probably of a very ancient origin. It may be said to take the place amongst the Khasis of the head-hunting custom amongst the Nagas. The *Thlen* superstition is still deeprooted amongst the people here, in many portions of the country the Khasis being afraid to walk out after dark for fear of being attacked by *nongshohnohs*, or persons who are searching for victims to sacrifice to the *Thlen*.

15. *Calculation of time*.—The Khasis adopt the lunar month. The names of the lunar months have been extracted from Colonel Bivar's report below. I am not certain whether all Colonel Bivar's explanations of meanings of the names of the months are correct:

U Kylla-lyn-kot,—the wood-burning moon, corresponding with January.

U Rympang,—the windy moon, corresponding with February.

U Lyber,—the seed-sowing moon, corresponding with March.

U Iaiong,—the cloudy changeable-weather moon, corresponding with April.

U Jim-mang,—the flowering moon, corresponding with May.

U Jil-lu,—the deep-water moon, corresponding with June.

U Naitung,—the bad-smelling moon, corresponding with July.

N Nailar,—the moon when a plant called the *Jatalar*, which has a red flower flourishes. This is perhaps one of the *arums*. The plant is commonly known as the snake plant.

U Nailur,—the moon for ploughing, corresponding with September. This may be also the month for courting, the word *lur* also having the meaning to woo.

U Ry-saw,—the moon when nature fades (usually becomes red) corresponding with October.

U Naiwing,—the earthen-pot moon, corresponding with November.

U Nohprah,—the moon of the fall of the leaf, corresponding with December.

The Khasi week consists generally of eight days, although in some of the *War* villages on the southern side of the hills there is a week of four days only. The days of the week are named after the markets which are held in rotation on the different days.

<i>Khasi.</i>	<i>Synteng.</i>
1. Lynkah.	Ky-llao.
2. Nongkrem.	Pyn-sing.
3. Um-long.	Mao-long.
4. Rang-hep.	Mao-siang.
5. Shillong.	Maoshai.
6. Pomti.	Pynkat.
7. Um-nih.	Thym-blein.
8. Yeo-duh.	Ka-hat.

16. *Teknonomy*.—One more interesting custom that may be noticed is the Khasi and Synteng custom of *teknonomy*, or of parents taking the names of their children, *e.g.*, *ka Kmi Ka Nari* (the mother of *Ka Nari*), *U Kpa Nihon* (the father of *Nihon*). The taking of names thus is almost universally practised. The actual names of the parents after falling into desuetude are often completely forgotten by the villagers. Only the names of the children are used coupled with “father of” “mother of” as explained above. The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dissemination of English education has, in some cases, produced some rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—*U Water Kingdom*, *Ka Mediterranean Sea*, *Ka Red Sea*, *U Shakewell Bones*, *U Overland*, *Ka Brindisi*.

A brief note on the Khasi language.—It is not intended here to give a description of other than what occur to me to be some of the more prominent characteristics of the language.

The article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders), and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take the article as in French—the great majority of inanimate nouns are feminine and all abstract nouns. The sun (day), *ka sngi*, is feminine, the moon (month), *u b'nai*, is masculine. Sometimes the word varies in meaning according to the gender: *u ngap*, a bee; *ka ngap*, honey.

Genders.—Names of mountains, stones, plants, fruits, stars, the moon are masculine, *e.g.* :—

U kyllang, the Kyllang rock.

U mawlein, quartz.

U phan, potato.

U soh namtra, orange.

U' lur shai, the morning star.

U' tiw kulap, rose.

U b'nai, the moon.

Names of rivers, lakes, books, places, the sun, and all abstract nouns are feminine, *e.g.* :—

Ka wah, river.

Ka nan, lake.

Ka kitap, book.

Ka Shillong, Shillong.

Ka sngi, sun.

Ka jingsneng, advice.

The article *i* is used either as a diminutive, as *i khunlung*, a baby, or for denoting endearment, as *i mei*, mother.

Number—*u*, *ka* and *i* stand for the singular number. *Ki* is the sign of the plural, *e.g.*, *u khla* (a tiger), *ka khoh* (a Khasi basket), *i khun* (a child). *Ki* is the sign of the plural, as *ki maw*, the stones. *Ki* in some few instances is used honorifically, as *ki Siem*, the king, *ki kthaw*, the father-in law.

Cases are eight in number, and are denoted by prefixes—the declension of the noun *lum* (hill) is given below by way of example :—

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nominative	<i>u lum</i>	<i>ki lum</i>
Accusative	<i>ia u lum</i>	<i>ia ki lum</i>
Instrumental	<i>da u lum</i>	<i>da ki lum</i>

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Dative	<i>ia, ha, or sha u lum</i>	<i>ia ha or sha ki lum</i>
Ablative	<i>na u lum</i>	<i>na ki lum</i>
Genitive	<i>jong u lum</i>	<i>jong ki lum</i>
Locative	<i>ha u lum</i>	* <i>ha ki lum</i>
Vocative	<i>ko lum</i>	<i>ko phi ki lum</i>

The sign of the genitive case *jong* is sometimes omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g., *u ksew nga* (my dog) for *u ksew jong nga*. The preposition *la* gives also the force of the possessive case, e.g., *la ka jong ka jong* (their own). There are some nouns which change their form, or rather are abbreviated, when used in the vocative case, e.g., *ko mei*, not *ko kmie*, = Oh! mother; *ko pa*, not *ko kpa* = Oh! father. These, however, are all of them nouns showing relationships.

Pronouns.—Personal pronouns are *nga* (I), *ngi* (we), *me* (thou, masculine), *pha* (thou, feminine), *u* (he, it), *ka* (she, it) *i* diminutive form of *u* or *ka*, and *ki* (they).

The emphatic form of the personal pronoun is formed by prefixing *ma*, e.g., *manga*, *ma-u* after a verb, but not after a preposition, e.g., *dei ma-nga* = it is I. But *ai ia ma-nga* is an incorrect form.

The *Reflexive Pronoun* is formed by the word *lade* (self) being suffixed to the personal pronouns,—as *u leh sniu ia lade* = he does himself harm, or by the addition of the word *hi* (self) to the personal pronoun,—as *phi hi phi ong* (you yourself).

The *Relative Pronoun* is formed by the suffixes *ba*, *ei*, *no*, *ta*, added to any of the personal pronouns,—as *kaba*, *uba*, *kiba* (who, which) *kaei*, *uei*, *kiei* (who, what), *kano*, *uno*, *kino* (what, who), *kata*, *uta*, *kita* [that, what].

The *Demonstrative Pronoun* is formed by the addition of the particles denoting the position of things with reference to the speaker, e.g., (1) near = this, *ne* (*u-ne*) *kane*, *i-ne*, *ki-ne*; [2] in sight, but further off = that, *to* (*uto*, etc.); (3) further away, but still visible = that, *tai* [*u-tai*, etc.]; [4] out of sight, or only contemplated in the mind = that, *ta* [*u-ta* etc.]; [5] above = that, *eti* [*u-tei*, etc.]; [6] below = this, *thi* [*ka-thi*, etc.].

The *Interrogative Pronoun* is the article followed by *no* or *ki* (e.g., *u-no*, *kano*, who), *u-ei ka-ei* (who, which).

Adjectives are formed by prefixing *ba* to the root, thus *bha* goodness; *ba-bha* good, *snui* badness; *ba-snu* bad. When *ba* is dropped, the word is no longer an adjective but a verb, and in some cases a noun, e.g., *uba khrau* [adj.] = big, great; *u khrau* = he becomes great. An adjective may be formed without any of the prefixes *ba*, *uba*, etc.,—e.g., *ka miau-tuh* = a thieving cat.

An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The *Comparative* is formed by adding *kham* before an adjective, followed by *ban ia* [than], or simply *ia*; and the *superlative* by adding such adverbs of intensity, as *tam eh*, *eh than*, *tam*, *eh*, *shikaddei*, which are followed generally by *ia* or *ban ia*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun [e.g., *lai sin*, three times]. The following are the first ten numerals:—

- | | |
|---------|--------------|
| 1. Wei | 6. Hinriu. |
| 2. Ar. | 7. Hinnieu. |
| 3. Lai. | 8. Phra. |
| 4. Sau. | 9. Khyndai. |
| 5. San. | 10. Shipheu. |

The word *khad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g., *khad-wei*, *khad-ar*, eleven, twelve, etc.

Verbs.—The verbal root [which never varies] may be simple or compound. The compound roots are [1] *causals* formed by prefixing *pyn*, *pyl*, *kyn* to the simple root; *frequentatives* formed by prefixing *nang* [going on], *dang* still, *iai*, *ia* [continues to]; *inceptives* formed by prefixing *man*.

Reciprocals are formed by prefixing *ia*. There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When the subject is a noun, the pronoun is inserted before the verb. The following is the conjugation of the verb "to be" in the present, past, and future tenses:

Present.		Past.		Future.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Nga long</i> , I am.	<i>Ngi long</i> , we are.	<i>Nga la long</i> , I was.	<i>Ngi la long</i> , we were.	<i>Ngan long</i> , I shall be.	<i>Ngin long</i> , we shall be.
<i>Me</i> (mas.) or <i>pha</i> (fem.) long, thou art.	<i>Phi long</i> , ye are.	<i>Me or pha la long</i> , thou was.	<i>Phi la long</i> , ye were.	<i>Men or phan long</i> , thou shalt be.	<i>Phin long</i> , you shall be.
<i>U</i> (mas.) or <i>ka</i> (fem.) long, he or she is.	<i>Ki long</i> , they are.	<i>U or ka la long</i> , he or she was.	<i>Ki la long</i> , they were.	<i>U'n or ka'n long</i> , he or she will be.	<i>Kin long</i> , they will be.

The above simple tenses are made definite or empathic by various means. *La*, sign of the past, when added to *lah*, sign of the potential has the sense of the pluperfect, e.g., *nga la lah long*, I had been. *Yu* abbreviated into *'u* emphasises the future, the particle *sa* also indicates the future, *da* is the usual sign of the subjunctive mood, *lada*, *la*, *lynda*, *tad ynda*, *ban da* are other signs of this mood. The sign of the infinitive is *ba'n*. The imperative is either (1) the simple root, or (2) the root compounded with some word such as *to*.

Participles.—The present participle is formed by prefixing *ba* to the root, e.g., *ba long*, being. The imperfect participle is formed by prefixing such words as *ba u*, *ka da*, *da kaba*, etc. The perfect participle is formed by putting such particles as *ba la*, *haba la*, *da kaba la* before the verb. Verbal nouns of agency are formed by prefixing *nong* to the root, e.g., *u nong knia* (the sacrificer).

The *Passive Voice* is formed by using the verb impersonally and putting the subject into the Accusative case with *ia*.

Potentiality is indicated by the verb *lah*, necessity by the verb *dei*; *dang* and *da* show the indefinite present.

The *negative* is indicated by the particles *'ym* contracted into *'m shym* and *pat*. *Ym* is put before the verb,—e.g., *'ym don briew* = there is no one; with a pronoun it is contracted, e.g., *u'm wan*, he does not come. It follows the sign of the future, e.g., *phi'n y'm wan*, you will not come. *Shym* and *pat* are negative particles, and with *negative verbs* in the past tense,—e.g., *u'm shym la wan*, he did not come.

The use of the word "*jing*."—One of the most striking features of the language is the use of the word *jing*, which is employed to create an abstract noun out of a verb: for instance, take the verb *bam*, to eat; if we prefix *jing* we have *jingbam*=food. *Bat* to hold, *jing-bat*, a handle. The use of the word *nong* has already been noticed under the heading "verbs." For example of another common prefix, it may again be mentioned here. Thus, *nong-ai-jingbam* means a table-servant, literally one who gives food. Again *nong-bat*, a holder, literally one who holds.

Syntax.—The order of words in the sentence is usually (1) subject, (2) verb, and (3) object, in fact, the same as in English, and in this respect it differs entirely from the order in the languages derived from Sansrit, and that of the languages of the Thibeto-Burman group as far as I have been able to ascertain. For instance, in the Kachari or Boro language the order in the sentence is (1) subject, (2) object, (3) verb. In Khasi when emphasis is needed, however, the object occasionally precedes the verb, e.g., *ia u soh u la die*, he has sold the fruit, literally the fruit he has sold. As stated before, adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, e.g., *u lum bajrong*, a high mountain, literally, the hill that is

high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb, e.g., *naei phi wan* or *phi wan naei*, where do you come from.¹

18. *Conclusion.*—I have endeavoured to note down briefly above some of what seem to be the more prominent features of Khasi Ethnology, reserving a more detailed account of the Khasis for the monograph which is under preparation. In publishing this brief account, it is my hope that it may attract criticism by persons who are more familiar with the Khasis than myself, and it is my earnest desire that if experts who are acquainted with the Ethnology of the province of Burma and of that great country comprising the valleys of the Mekong and the Menam, find any points of resemblance between Khasi Ethnology and that of those regions, they will kindly bring these points to my notice, so that perhaps a clue may be found to the origin of the Khasis, which is at present so obscure.

¹ In the compilation of this brief notice of the Khasi language, I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Grierson's *Skeleton Khasi Grammar*, the Revd. H. Robert's *Khasi Grammar*, and to Nissor Singh's "Hints on the Study of the Khasi language."—P. R. T. G.

SUPPLEMENT.

Note on the Hair-Worms in Oriental and European Folklore.

The object of this note is to elicit further information from those members of the Society who are in a position to study the beliefs of the native races of Asia. The folklore of any widely-distributed group of animals is interesting as throwing light on what we may call the primitive zoological philosophy of mankind, and literature as regards the beliefs held by various tribes about the life-histories of the lower invertebrates is practically non-existent. Several of the facts here recorded have been published elsewhere, but some of them are new and it has seemed worth while to bring the whole together, imperfect as the information still is.

The *Gordiidae* or hair-worms are an isolated family of parasites related, somewhat distantly, to the Nematodes or thread-worms. Their life-history is in reality complicated, for those which have been studied pass through the bodies of two different insects or other small animals before reaching maturity, and finally emerge into water or damp earth to lay their eggs. Their final host in the Indian region is often a large green Mantis, but they are known also to infest bugs, locusts and other insects. Without going into technicalities it is difficult to define their peculiarities; but they can easily be recognized by their resemblance to coarse hairs, their slow movements and their habit of curling themselves into complicated coils—whence probably the name originally given to the genus *Gordius* by Linnæus.

In Great Britain and in other parts of Europe it is an ancient belief that the hair-worms represent a stage in the development of a horse-hair into an eel. The belief was ridiculed tentatively by English writers of the Elizabethan and later epochs, but still survives in many parts of Scotland. Its existence is due partly to the resemblance between the common British species and a horse-hair, partly to the fact that nothing was known about the reproduction of the common eel (which must make its way, even from isolated ponds, to the deep sea before spawning) until a few years ago, and partly to the sudden and mysterious appearance of the worms in puddles of water, into which they have issued from the body of some insect. I have heard it explained by a highly cultured Scotch lady that the hairs did not really turn into eels but were

invaded by a "colony of microbes," which made them move as if alive. The belief has been carried to America, where it exists in a modified form. A correspondent in New York informs me that in some parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland the country people believe that if a horse-hair is kept in water for a certain period, it will turn into a snake. Whether any similar legend occurs in Asia I have not been able to discover.

Though this story of the horse-hair and the eel has probably a wide distribution in Europe, it is not universal; for in the Faroes and Iceland the hair-worms are said to come down with the rain. A similar superstition probably exists in the island of Batchian, in the Malay Archipelago. There are specimens of a Gordiid in the British Museum collected in this island by Wallace, who notes on the label that they are called *ular langat* ("lightning," or more correctly, "sky-snakes.")

In spite of their distinctive appearance, the hair-worms are frequently regarded as the cause of disease, probably in some cases because they are confused with thread-worms. The following note has lately been received at the Indian Museum:—

The specimen has been sent by a Hospital assistant of Dihâti, Cooch-Behar. It consists of a thread-like worm, called by the people there, *soota-sâp* or thread-serpent and two grass-hoppers, who act as host to the worm. In one of these latter, the worm has not been squeezed out. The worm also affects certain birds and rarely, man. It is said to be poisonous and the hosts after harbouring the worms die after some time. It is not certainly known what symptoms they produce when they get into the human body.

In the Patani States (Malay Peninsula) mothers will not allow their children to play with a Mantis (*Hierodula modesta*) which is set to fight with others of its own species in Perak. They are afraid that a hair-worm will make its way up the children's nostrils from the insect's body. In parts of Burma¹ malaria is believed to be caused by drinking a hair-worm in water.

Of the use of the hair-worms in primitive medicine, I have only come across one instance. Patani women are in the habit of extracting a dark, glossy species (*Chorodes montoni*) from the bodies of Mantises, boiling the worms in oil and rubbing the oil on their hair, in order to give it a glossy appearance and prevent it turning grey. Crow's feathers are used in the same way in Perak.

It is in the Malay Peninsula that the most highly developed legends regarding the hair-worms, which I have been able to discover, occur; but this is probably because I have had greater opportunities of inquiry

¹ Camerano, *Boll. Mus. Torino*, 1904.

in that country than elsewhere. In the Patani States *Chorodes-montoni* and probably other species are known as *ular ribu-ribu*, because of their resemblance to the creeping rhizome of a climbing fern called *pokoh-paku ribu-ribu*¹, probably a species of *Lygodium*. In the event of their not being able to creep up a person's nostril, the worms are believed actually to turn into this fern, and it appears that they are frequently found, as a matter of fact, at the roots of trees in situations where it is likely to grow. Their origin is said to be as follows:—When earthworms put their heads out of the ground at night or in the evening, they are waiting for the coming of the Mantis, which is their mate, The union of the two produces a hair-worm, which can be found inside the body of its mother. Earthworms are said to sing in the ground at night (the true cause of the sound attributed to them being a large *Gryllotalpa* or mole-cricket), and the hair-worm is thought to inherit from its father the power of producing a noise, in its case a feeble squeak.

Even these scattered notes show how deeply engrained in the human mind is the impulse to find an explanation of natural phenomena, and how universally primitive races are given to theorizing on such subjects, basing their theories on sound observation but going wrong because these theories only apply to individual cases and are not grounded in any wide generalization. It is only when a high stage of civilization is reached that such speculations are relegated to the few who are, or consider themselves to be, competent to deal with such matters, and then the interest ceases to be popular.—N. ANNANDALE.

¹ Literally the "nail-plant (*i.e.* fern) with thousands" (of fronds).

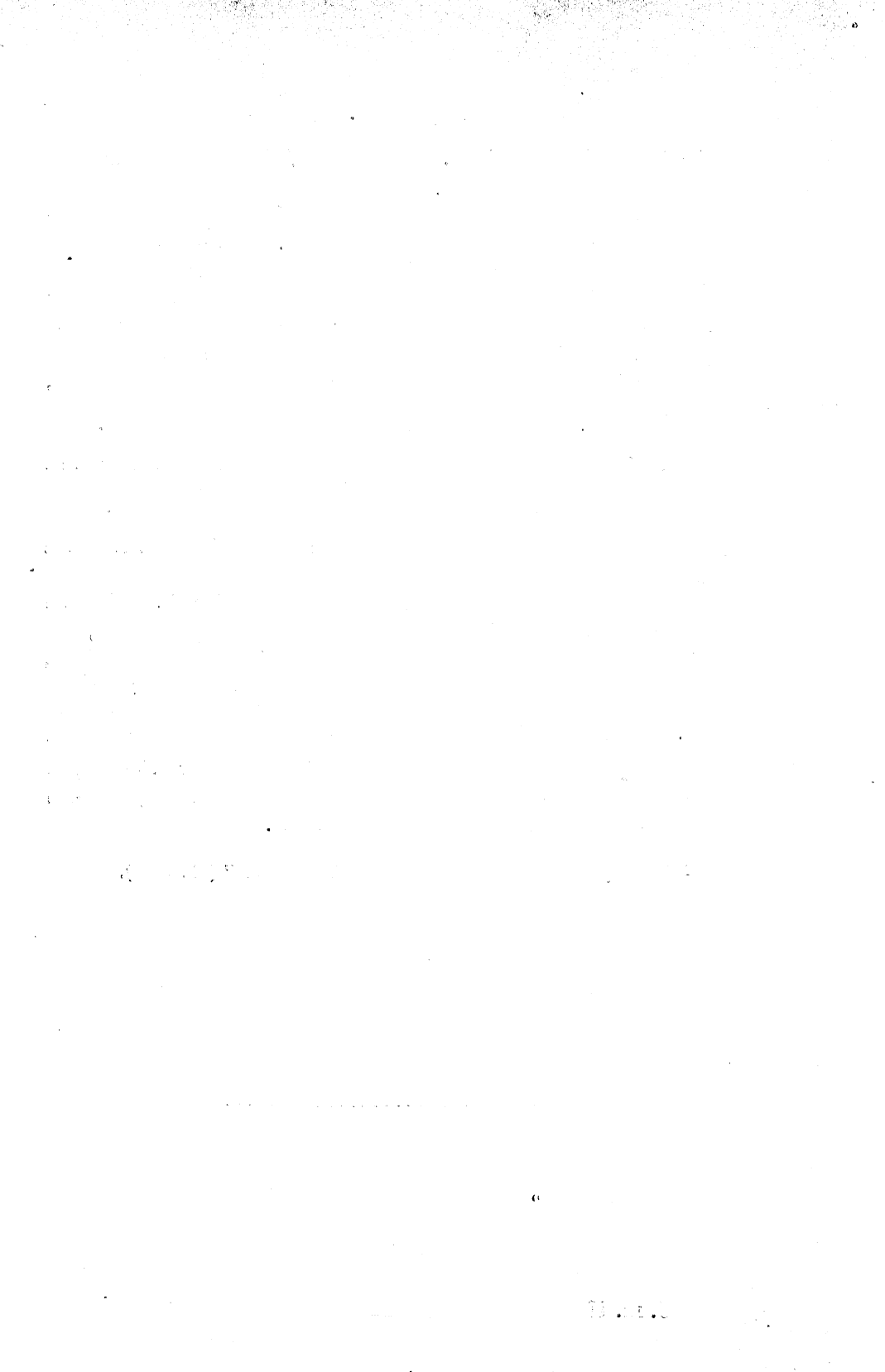
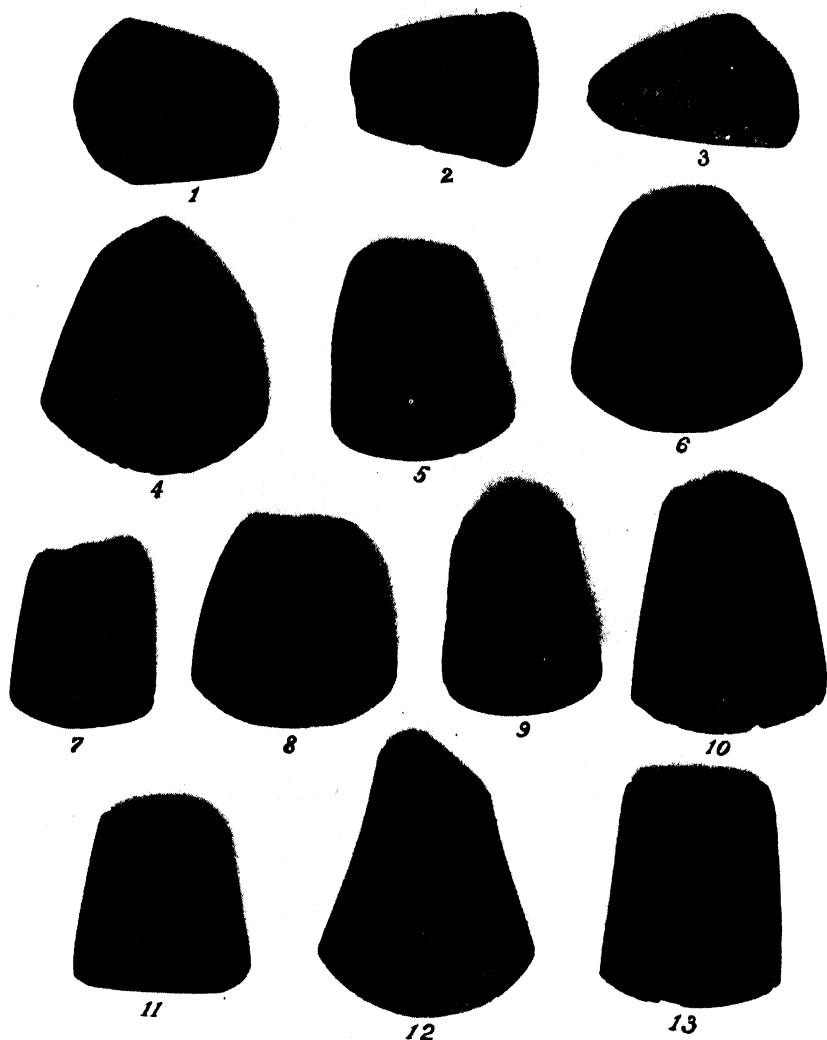


PLATE I.



COMPARATIVE SCALE
INCHES.

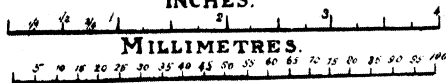
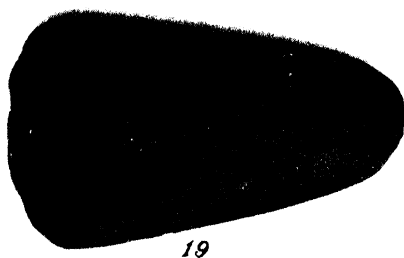
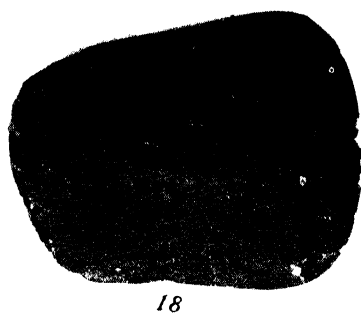
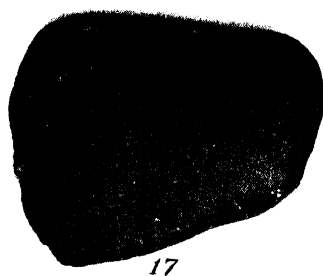
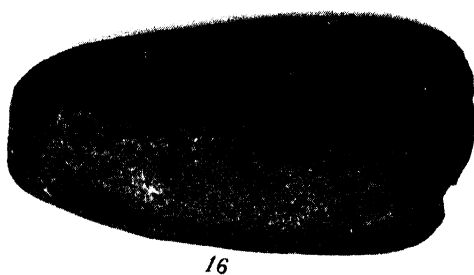
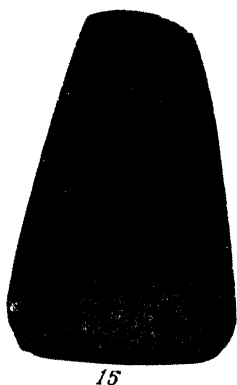
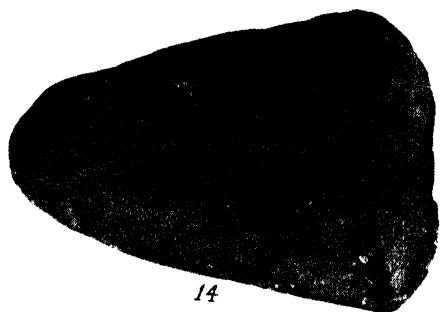
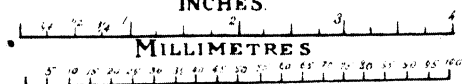
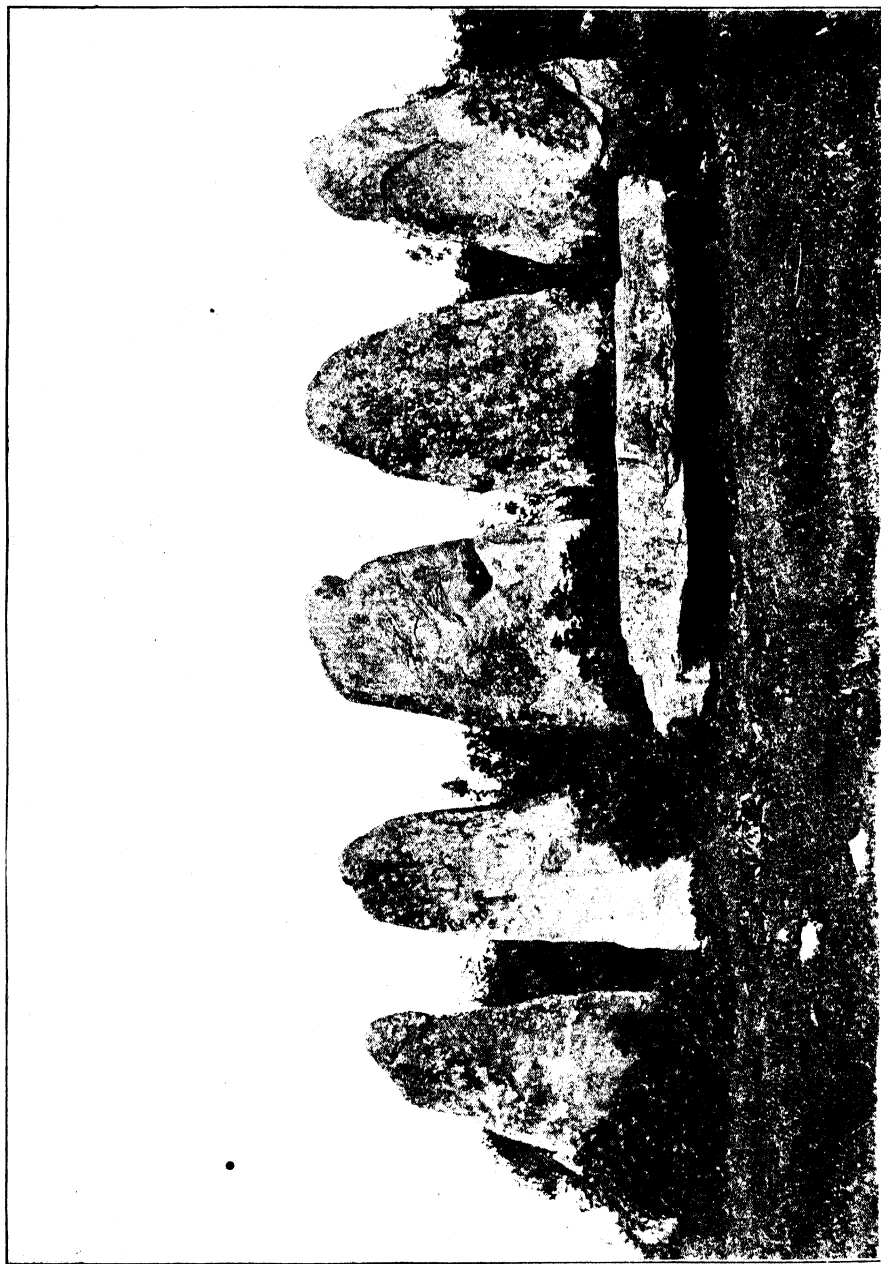


PLATE II.



COMPARATIVE SCALE
INCHES.







JOURNAL

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AND COGNATE SUBJECTS.

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Customs in the Trans-border territories of the North-West Frontier Province.—COMMUNICATED BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

The following notes on the customs, or 'Customary Law,' to use a term which is somewhat apt to be misconstrued, in the protected tribal territories which lie beyond the administrative border, but within the Durand Line, of the North-West Frontier Provinces, have been compiled by the Political Agents of the following territories:—

Southern Waziristan—F. M. Johnston, Esq., C.S.

Northern Waziristan, (including Daur):—Capt. W. J. Keen, Political Agent; also Settlement Officer, Tochi.

Karram—Stuart Waterfield, Esq.

Dir, Swāt and Chitrāl Agency—Major S. H. Godfrey.

The notes are chiefly in the form of answers to questions taken, with some modifications, from Tupper's Punjab Customary Law, Vol. III, and are published as they stand. Any attempt to reduce them to a single connected account would almost certainly only result in misrepresenting the meaning and effect of the answers recorded, and it appears inexpedient to attempt to arrange or condense a purely tentative series of rough notes, as this professedly is, until more accurate and complete information has been obtained. Still less advisable

would any idea of codification be. The notes have moreover no authority or validity from a legal standpoint.

The trans-border territories on the North-West Frontier offer a probably unique opportunity for the study of custom in primitive communities, affected very deeply in some ways by Mahomedan ideas, but in others quite uninfluenced by them. In such communities we should expect to find few general principles at work, and this is actually the case, but those principles are observed with a remarkably rigid consistency, considering that might is above all right in these poor and turbulent communities. On the whole, some of the customary rules will compare not unfavourably with those in force in the Indian schools of Muhammadan Law.* One or two of the underlying principles stand out clearly enough:—

1st.—There is no distinction between a crime and a tort, and as conception of a criminal act as an outrage against the peace of the community. There is no state whose peace could be violated, and only a very rudimentary conception of a commonwealth. Hence every offence is merely a tort which entitles or requires the person injured to seek redress and obtain it if he can. Punishment, apart from the enforcement of the customary compensation, there is none. In appealing to the customary law the injured person is actuated solely by a desire for redress or revenge. It would afford him little satisfaction to see the man who had robbed him punished, unless he were indemnified for his loss. The highly artificial and perhaps peculiarly English conception of a crime as distinct from a tort, and as an offence against the crown, is wanting. The idea is probably prevalent far beyond those territories and doubtless underlies the curious reluctance sometimes observed in India to treat crime as something far more serious than a tort. It is not perhaps going too far to say that justice in primitive communities would be more popular if the civil and criminal procedure were amalgamated and no penal codes introduced.

2nd.—The limited extent to which the Muhammadan Law of inheritance has been adopted by communities so fanatically Muhammadan in religious matters is striking. The Muhammadan rules of inheritance are not observed. More especially is this the case where women are

* Cf. p. 14 below.

concerned. This is probably due to the conception of women as chattels, as things owned and therefore incapable of owning. It is difficult to explain in any other way the absolute disregard of the Muhammadan rule of inheritance, which are eminently fair to women.

The trans-border territories offer an unrivalled opportunity for the study of customary law. They have been entirely free from the influences of our legal system and are likely to remain so for a long period. The investigation of local variations in custom, and the developments of custom under changed economic conditions, will doubtless give results of great interest to any careful enquirer.

In conclusion, it should be observed that these notes do not deal with 'Customary Law' in the ancient state of Chitrāl. The states of the vast mountain region of the Hindu Kush will probably be found to preserve some customs and ideas of great antiquity, but they remain so far a *terra incognita* in this respect.

For a study in 'Constitutional Law' in a modern Muhammadan State, attention may be directed to *The Constitution and Laws of Afghanistan*, by Mir Munshi Sultan Mahmud Khan, F.R.G.S. (John Murray, London, 1900).

31st December, 1904.

H. A. R.

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I.—A SHORT NOTE ON THE CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE SOUTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY.

In this Agency, local and tribal custom are practically identical, but all questions of custom are liable to variation according to the positions of the parties, in a country where the first principle is that "might is right" and "let him keep who can."

Status of women.—A female is generally looked on as having no status of her own, and as long as her husband is alive, she is his chattel. When she becomes a widow she can only enjoy her deceased husband's property, so long as she remains in his house or dwells with his heirs, but she cannot under any circumstances alienate any property, nor can her son by a former marriage inherit her second husband's property. If she marries again or is unchaste she loses all right to maintenance from her deceased husband's property.

Inheritance.—Sons of one father, whether their mothers be one or more, inherit equally. In the absence of sons, a man's brothers would inherit, or if there are none, the nearest male relative or relatives. A father can nominate his eldest son to a larger share than his brethren

A daughter cannot inherit nor can her husband, even if he has lived with her father prior to his demise.

Betrothal and marriage.—Wazirs arrange marriage and agree on a price, then the man's friends come and do *nanawati* and pay a little money: this is called *losniwai*. The bridegroom then visits the bride's father's house and brings a sheep with him to furnish food for a feast. This ceremony is called *khara*.

(After the *losniwai* the girl belongs to the bridegroom's family, and if he dies, his father gives her to a brother, cousin, etc., but if *she* dies her father sticks to what money he has received). After this the real marriage by a *mullah* takes place. Wazirs usually marry late, between 20 and 25.

Adoption.—Adoption exists among the Wazirs.

Tenure of land.—Land is usually held according to tribal and sectional shares. In the case of land acquired by one tribe from another by force such land is generally divided among the conquering tribe or section according to their tribal or sectional shares. A custom of pre-emption exists.

Mortgages.—Mortgage is often employed to save the honour of the mortgager and keep alive his rights in his land. When a stronger tribe threatens to acquire by force the lands of a weaker, the members of the latter often mortgage their land to the stronger for nominal sums and then retire. On their return, years after, in case of their having become stronger, they claim the right to redeem, but in such mortgages the right to redeem is doubtful. There is another kind of mortgage, in which the mortgagee, if not repaid within a year or thereabouts, has the right to take possession and cultivate the mortgaged land.

Offences.—In case of murder or bodily injury, the law is retaliation, the custom of vendetta existing among all the tribes of the Agency. It is open, however, for a murderer or a man who has wounded or injured another to indemnify the heirs of the murdered man or the wounded man at the following rates, (a woman being calculated as half a man and children as man or woman as the case may be):—

For death, if the murder, was accidental—

			Rs.	} Now fixed in cases decided judicially at 1,200 cabulis.
Mahsûde	...	...	1,700 cabuli.
Star Wazîr	...	...	1,800 "

But in payment of such compensation fictitious values are often placed on kine or sheep. It is rarely, however, that compensation stops a vendetta. Compensation if taken is often given back to a third party quietly and the murderer slain.

Permanent lameness, loss of an arm or of sight = half a life.

For other injuries, compensation is payable as below:—

				Rs.
Loss of a thumb or second finger	...	...	...	100
Other fingers	...	...	...	50
Teeth	...	...	...	100 and a sheep.

In case of adultery the woman is killed and the man loses his foot or nose, but if the man be killed his heirs can claim one-fourth the value of a life.

Burglary by day is compensated for by the return of stolen property and two sheep; burglary by night, ditto. plus Rs. 100; the compensation for arson by two sheep and Rs. 100; damage to crops by payment of Rs. 100 and two sheep.

It is not necessary for the heirs of a murdered man to kill the actual murderer; they can kill any of his relatives, if they cannot find an opportunity to kill the actual murderer, or even any other man of the section. Hence sectional and tribal vendettas also exist.

In many cases during the course of a blood feud the actual murder is not committed by the parties to the vendetta, but by an assassin, known as a *Baskar*, hired for the purpose. When the murder has been committed the hirer lets himself be known as the principal *Zhagh Karvi*, and he alone is responsible for the killing, and no blood feud lies against the *baskar*, who indeed if he has done his work may be hired by the other party to murder his own former employer.

If a murderer takes shelter with another tribe or section the latter become responsible for his life. But if he be killed when living with them as an *hamsáya*, the protecting tribe may take *sharmana* or compensation for disgrace, and drop the matter, or they may take up the murdered man's cause and start a vendetta in the same way as his relations in addition to their efforts. Wazirs are usually very quick to kill, the usual causes being either women, land or water. But Mahsúds have been known to kill one another over a handful of berries.

A truce often takes place in a vendetta, and sometimes neither side moves for months; but after this may come a succession of murders within a few days. Generally, however, a Wazir will be ready to make a truce whenever he can.

The tribes in the Agency are all divided into sections and sub-sections.

The Mahsúd sectional shares are recorded in Political Agent, Wano'e No. 212, dated 27th March, 1903.

The Darwesh Khels are well known. There are no Utmanzais in this Agency except a few Malikshais.

The Dotanis are divided into the Hassan Khels and Umar Khels.

The Suleman Khels of Zarmelan belong to the Manzai section of that tribe.

The organization for settlement of cases is a *jirga*, which consists of a body of men usually of age or influence who sit as a board of magistrates. Their decisions are final and it is the custom to reward them for their labours.

The oath on the Quran is a common means of settling cases. Where there is no evidence or any difficulty, as for instance, in the case of a murder, if the accused man can get hundred men to swear to his innocence the complainants often agree to this method of settlement. If the accused can only produce ten men, each of these may swear ten times, and thus complete the hundred oaths.

Customary Law in Daur, Northern Waziristān.

In drawing up this Rivaj-i-am I have endeavoured to show the general rules which are supposed to govern the intercourse of the people of Daur. These rules must not as yet be taken to be hard-and-fast, for it must be remembered that the country has only just lately emerged from anarchy, where every man was a law unto himself and did what seemed right in his eyes. There were certain rules to which the people were supposed to conform, but these rules were hazy and capable of very different interpretation according as the person concerned was powerful or otherwise. Might was right, and if a man chose to disregard the rules, he did so, taking any consequences that might ensue in the way of a blood feud or otherwise. Should he offend very gravely indeed against tribal etiquette, the tribe as a whole would sometimes rise up and exact reparation, but this would only be in very flagrant cases of injustice.

Subject to these general remarks, the following rules hold good for the Dauris, and more or less for the Waziris also:—

CIVIL.

Q. 1.—Are any persons considered relations besides those descended from a common ancestor?

A. 1.—No. The relations of the wife are considered as close connections of the husband, but are not relations. With reference to succession to property, relationship is entirely agnatic.

The following are the relations of the wife who are considered as connections of the husband, with local names:—

Wife's brother	...	...	...	<i>Ukhshai.</i>
„ sister	...	...	...	<i>Shina.</i>
„ father	...	...	...	<i>Askhar.</i>
„ mother	...	...	...	<i>Rhoshi.</i>

Q. 2.—Explain the system of reckoning generations, and give a table of kindred in both ascending and descending lines, with local names of each.

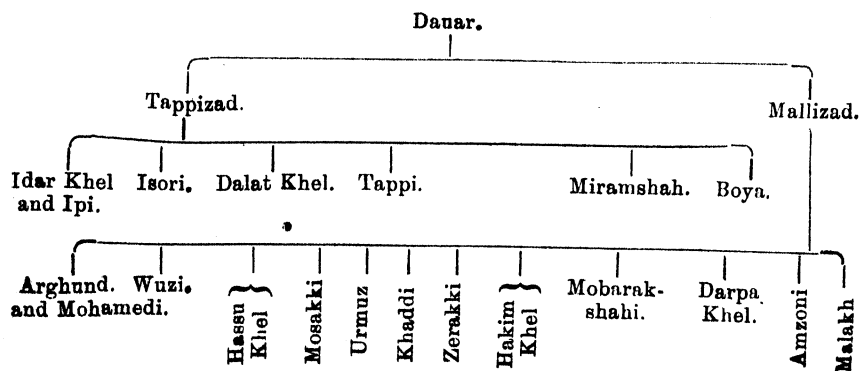
A. 2.—Generations are reckoned in the direct male line from father to son—

<i>Par nika</i>	...	...	...	Great-great-great-grandfather.
<i>Tar nika</i>	...	...	...	Great-great-grandfather.
<i>War nika</i>	...	...	...	Great-grandfather.
<i>Nika</i>	...	...	...	Grandfather.
<i>Plar</i>	...	...	...	Father.
<i>Zoi</i>	...	...	...	Son.
<i>Almosai</i>	...	...	...	Grandson.
<i>Kosai</i>	...	...	...	Great-grandson.
<i>Kundai</i>	...	...	...	Great-great-grandson.
<i>Pradai</i>	...	...	...	Great-great-great-grandson.

Pradai—great-great-great-grandson—means in reality “a stranger,” which shows that the relationship is so remote that it does not really count.

Q. 3.—Is your tribe divided into sections? If so, by what names are they known? Does each section send representatives to the *jirga*?

A. 3.—The Dauris are to all intents and purposes a homogeneous tribe, though they say themselves that they are divided into two main divisions, namely, Tappizād and Mallizād. These two are again divided as shown below:—



There is also one disconnected section:—Idak, inhabiting Idak village.

Amzoni, inhabiting the tract between Boya and Darpa Khel, including the villages of Aghzan Killa, Khare Killa, Khatti Killa on left bank of the river, and Chiton, Umarzai, Ali Khel and Ahmad Khel Raghzi Kella and Urmar Killa on the right bank.

Malakh, inhabiting the villages of Boya, Land, Muhammad Khel, Dehgan, Idal Rhel, Pai Khel and Ghazlamai.

Each village has a right to be represented at tribal *jirgas*.

There is, as far as I can ascertain, no Khān Khel amongst the Dauris. It is said that the Shajāwal family in Mubārakshāhi, of which Malik Shaikh Mansūr is head, is the Khān Khel of the Dauris, but there are many, and especially the older men, who say that this is not so. The fact is that the inhabitants of Daur are a very mixed race, people having come from all parts: *e.g.*, the people of Malakh were originally Kharotis, of Mosakki Bangashes, of Isori Khattaks, of Amzoni Wazirs, and there are very few *asl* (real) Dauri families. Shajāwal is one of these.

Betrothal.—Q. 4.—At what age does betrothal take place? and who has power to dispose of the hand of a girl or boy?

A. 4.—The ceremony of betrothal takes place at an early age, and may be in infancy. The right of disposing of a girl or boy rests first with the parents of the girl or boy if alive. If dead, the right rests with the next-of-kin who inherits the estates. Women are considered as an asset and part of the estate.

Q. 5.—Whose consent is necessary? Can a boy or girl have anything to say in the matter of his or her own engagement?

A. 5.—No one's consent is necessary beyond that of the parents or guardians of the child to whom the girl or boy is to be betrothed. As a matter of form, however, the members of the family of each are as a rule consulted, though their opinion need not be taken into consideration.

No girl or boy can have anything to say to his or her own betrothal. Should the man concerned be of ripe age, he will have to do as he is ordered by his father and marry the girl, and if he objects to the arrangement, he can divorce her afterwards.

Q. 6.—Describe the formalities of a betrothal. Which ceremony is it that makes the contract binding?

A. 6.—The ceremony known as *lasniwai* (hand clasp) is the only ceremony of betrothal, and after it the contract is binding.

This ceremony is a simple one, and only consists in the father or guardian of the bridegroom going to the guardian of the prospective

bride and arranging the matter with him. When the bargain is clinched hands are clasped, hence the name. The relations of both the prospective bride and bridegroom are present, and sweetmeats are distributed to them all by the guardian of the bridegroom.

Q. 7.—Does priority in betrothal entitle to priority in marriage?

A. 7.—There is no custom on this matter. Nor does priority in marriage carry with it any privileges. Other things being equal, the first wife is naturally head of the household, but she has no right to it, and the head of the household may be the husband's special favourite, or the one with the most and strongest sons.

Q. 8.—Upon what grounds can a betrothal be annulled?

A. 8.—Upon no grounds can a betrothal be annulled by either party. Should the man be discontented, he must go through with it and then divorce the woman after marriage. The woman cannot annul a betrothal after the ceremony of *lasniwai* has taken place, but in the case of a woman of mature years, if she objects to marrying a man when the idea is broached to her before the *lasniwai*, she can refuse to marry that man, but in that case she must wear white clothes and marry no one else for her life.

Q. 9.—Does the contract of betrothal cease on the death of one party? Has the heir of either party any interest in the survivor?

A. 9.—The contract ceases on the death of the girl, but should the boy die, the girl is still considered as betrothed to the family, so to speak, and the guardian can give her to anyone he likes as if the marriage ceremony had taken place. For purposes of inheritance, should the boy or man die his betrothed becomes the property of his heirs. This is not applicable in the case of Darpu Khel village, where the betrothed becomes the property of her parents when her husband dies.

Q. 10.—Give the custom *re* breach of promise.

A. 10.—Custom on this point is hazy. Such a thing as breach of promise is very rarely known. The principals, not being allowed a say in the matter, are also not allowed to break it off. Should the guardian of either of the parties to a betrothal give the bride or bridegroom in marriage elsewhere, the penalty is the payment by the offending party of the expenses incurred, if any, by the aggrieved party, and a feud.

Should a woman refuse absolutely to marry a man before the ceremony of betrothal has actually taken place, she can do so, but this is extremely rare. If she does, she must not marry anyone else.

Should a girl elope with someone else when betrothed to a man, the husband with whom she has eloped must pay Rs. 1,200 Kābuli to the bridegroom originally selected.

Marriage.—Q. 11.—With what relations is marriage unlawful?

A. 11.—In this the people of Waziristān profess to follow the rules laid down in the Quran.

Q. 12.—What physical defects are enough to establish grounds for annulment of marriage?

A. 12.—Under no circumstances can a woman claim to have a marriage annulled, not even on the ground of impotence or lunacy in the man. The man, on the other hand, can divorce the woman for any reason which he may choose to advance.

Q. 13.—Are there any disabilities, besides relationship, which are a bar to marriage?

A. 13.—A Muhammadan may not marry one of another religion, but otherwise there is absolute free trade in marriage.

Q. 14.—May a man re-marry a woman whom he has once divorced?

A. 14.—A man may not marry a woman whom he has once divorced, unless she has previously married someone else and been divorced by him.

Q. 15.—Describe in full the usual ceremonies of marriage, and in particular the one which makes the tie indissoluble.

A. 15.—The ceremony of *lasniwai* (betrothal) has already been described. That may take place when the parties are any age. Marriage, however, does not take place till the parties reach puberty. When it is considered time for the marriage to take place, then takes place the ceremony known as *warro*. This consists in the bridegroom collecting a party of friends, and going in procession from his house to that of the bride. A party at the bride's house turn out to resist the bridegroom's party, and a sham fight takes place, in which clods of earth and stones are thrown on both sides, and also swords drawn. Occasionally it happens that someone is killed in these encounters, but this is rare. The bride's party at length desist, and the bridegroom comes to the bride's house where he feasts all the bride's relations. Next day the ceremony of marriage, *nikāh*, takes place. The *mullah* is called in and the religious ceremony is performed in presence of two witnesses besides the *mullah*. Anyone is competent to be a witness. When the ceremony is over, the bride is taken away to her husband's house. The tie is indissoluble after the *nikāh*. A religious ceremony is absolutely necessary to make marriage binding. Marriage cannot be presumed from cohabitation.

Q. 16.—Give the customs relating to divorce.

A. 16.—The Wazirs and Dauris recognise only one form of divorce and that is irrevocable. The word *talāk* is uttered three times, and three stones are thrown on the ground, and the divorce is complete.

A husband may divorce his wife at his own sweet will, but if he divorce her simply for his own pleasure and for no fault of hers, he has to pay *sharmāna* of some Rs. 60 Kābuli to her relatives. The wife can under no circumstances whatsoever claim divorce from the husband.

Q. 17.—What is the usual dower of an average woman? and when is it payable?

A. 17.—The dower of an average woman is a camel, sheep or cow according to the means of the bride. It is payable at the time of the *warro* as a rule, though this is not a *sine qua non*. This is only applicable to the Waziris: the Dauris give jewellery as a dowry.

Succession.—**Q. 18.**—If a man die, upon whom does his inheritance devolve? Give the heirs in order of succession.

A. 18.—When a man dies his inheritance devolves as follows:—

1st.—His sons in equal shares, or, if dead, to their sons, if any.

2ndly.—His brothers.

3rdly.—Father's brothers.

4thly.—His brother's sons.

5thly.—His brother's grandsons.

6thly.—Males descended from a common grandfather (*turburs*).

7thly.—To his tribe or section.

The shares in all cases are equal, unless the deceased has made a will leaving more to one than another. Wills are not common in Waziristān.

Grandsons inherit the shares of their fathers, and each set of grandsons divides their father's shares equally.

Q. 19.—Can women inherit? and if so, state the custom on the matter.

A. 19.—Amongst the Dauris and Waziris of the hills women cannot inherit under any circumstances. I am told that should a man leave a share of his property to his widow or daughter, he may do so, but it would only be hers for life, and after her death would return to the ordinary line of succession; but this is not done as a matter of fact. Widows and daughters, and other female dependents are entitled to maintenance only from the estate till they die or marry again.

Guardianship.—**Q. 20.**—What are the customs as to guardianship?

A. 20.—The customs on the matter of guardianship of minor children are hazy. Guardianship devolves as a rule to the nearest male relation in the same order as succession to property, and the father can only appoint another guardian should the next-of-kin be an enemy of his.

Women are treated as property, and the guardianship of them devolves as shown in A. 18.

A guardian can only alienate his ward's property provided it is in the interests of his ward.

As regards illegitimate children, anyone can adopt them who likes. They are treated as the *hamsayas* of the man who adopts and maintains them.

The age of majority for men is about 15 and for females about 14.

Miscellaneous.—Q. 21.—What are the rights of stepsons and daughters?

A. 21.—Sons of a wife by a former husband have no right of inheritance in the second husband's estate. They are entitled only to maintenance.

Q. 22.—What are the customs as to adoption?

A. 22.—There are none. They do take boys and treat them as sons during their life, but they have no right of inheritance whatever. A man cannot leave his property out of the ordinary succession.

Q. 23.—Does pre-emption obtain? If so, state the custom with regard to it.

A. 23.—Pre-emption does obtain in Daur. The right lies first with the relations of the owner of the property in order of succession, and after them with the man whose property borders with the property to be disposed of. After that with the members of the village. It applies only to sales and not to mortgages. Notice should be given by the person wishing to exercise the right of pre-emption as soon as he knows of the sale.

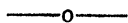
Q. 24.—What is the custom with reference to mortgage?

A. 24.—Mortgage with possession is the almost invariable rule. There is no custom as to foreclosure whatever. A mortgage may continue *ad libitum*.

Wood and trees growing on the land are the property of the owner.

Q. 25.—What are the local customs as to alluvion and diluvion?

A. 25.—There are none. Should land be reclaimed by alluvion, a *jirga* sits on it and settles to whom it belongs.



II.—CRIMINAL CUSTOMS IN DAUR.

I attach the following notes on the customs in regard to criminal offences in Daur because I have found them useful myself during the time I have been Political Agent in North Waziristān. They must not however, be taken as hard-and-fast laws to be strictly adhered to, but only as rough notes intended as a guide to enable the Political Agent to

exercise a supervision over the decisions of *jirgas*. For this purpose I have found them useful as a guide to tell me whether a decision given is more or less in accordance with tribal custom. The notes were written largely by Ahmad Din, Political Tahsildar, who has had long experience of these people, and I have re-written them, adding some of my own experience. I hope they may be useful, but I must again say that they are not to be taken as hard-and-fast rules, but only as guides.

Criminal, General.—With regard to offences against the human body, the general principle of the customary penal law in Daur may be said to be that of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." For murder the penalty is death; for bodily injury, bodily injury of a small nature. The Dauri, though, like every other Pathān, has his price by which either his wounded body or pride may be salved, and for most offences a fixed sum is laid down by which the offender may satisfy the wrath of the party offended. The amount actually paid, however, depends largely on the strength and influence of the opposing parties, the weaker usually having to go to the wall, being mercilessly fleeced if the offending party, and having to be content with little or nothing if offended.

As a general rule for purposes of calculating compensation a woman is considered as equal to half a man, and a Hindu is equal to a woman.

Children, when they can distinguish right from wrong, are considered men or women, according to sex, for purposes of assessing compensation.

Customary law in Daur only takes cognisance of the actual deed accomplished and not the intention of the offender: for instance, there is no such thing in Daur as attempted murder. If the man is only wounded in the attempt, the compensation given is only that for the hurt caused. Again, there is no such thing as letting a man off because he killed another man accidentally. Accident or no accident, the man is dead and the penalty must be paid either in cash or kind.

In Daur the right of self-defence is recognised, but in no case does it extend to the causing of death or permanently maiming the person against whom it is exercised, not even if he be attempting to commit murder. Should he be killed or permanently maimed, compensation must be paid to his relations or to himself.

Revenge is taken, if possible, on the actual offender while he lives. After his death then his brother inherits the feud, and after him the heirs of the murderer. If he has no such relation, then his section is responsible if the injured party belongs to another section.

If the offended party kill a relation of the actual *badidār* while he is still alive, then Rs. 500 British must be paid as compensation.

If the offender and brothers die without revenge having been taken, and the inheritance falls to a relation, then that relation can, if he wishes to escape the feud, renounce the heritage with the feud attached to it.

The tendency amongst Waziris and Dauris is that the blood penalty should be exacted, but if a person is afraid, he can go and get the village elders, and go and kill a sheep before the house of the offended party (a ceremony known as *nanawati*), and have the compensation assessed, and the case settled in that way.

The general method of setting cases is by oath, and the general rule as regards administering the oath is that if the offence was committed by night, the option of taking oath is given to the accused, and if it occurred by day the oath is given to the complainant, the presumption, I suppose, being that there was more chance of the accused being recognised by day than by night. The result of this rule is that most offences take place by night. Of course, if either party can produce sufficient evidence, this rule is set aside.

Penal Law.

Offences against the human body—Murder.—In Daur, as far as the consequences of the deed are concerned, there is no difference between murder and the accidental killing of a man or woman. The penalty is the same in either case. The punishment is death by the hands of the relatives of the murdered man, or if they cannot do it themselves, by the hand of assassins hired by them.

The case can, however, be compounded on the intervention of the village *jirga* by the payment of a sum of money varying from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 in cash. In some cases, too, a woman is given in marriage to one of the relations of the murdered man by the murderer, in which case the price of the woman is agreed upon between the parties and deducted from the amount of compensation to be paid.

If both of the parties do not willingly compound the offence but one is forced to do so by the other, or both are forced to do so by the village or tribal *jirga*, then compensation in cash only is paid.

The compensation paid for a woman is in all cases half that of a man, and the compensation for the murder of a Hindu is the same as that for a woman.

In no case does the right of self-defence extend to the causing of death to the attacker or to permanently maiming him. Should a man in self-defence kill another one, he has to pay compensation as above. As a general rule cases of accidental killing are settled by the payment of money, though the tendency in cases of intentional murder was to exact a life for a life and not to take compensation.

There are four exceptions to the law that the death or hurt of a man or woman must be avenged by the relations, either by taking a life, or by taking money in compensation. The exceptions are—

- (i) If a man is accidentally killed or shot in a *nandara* (the name given to the local dance at the Id), unless it can be proved that the man who killed the other had a feud or any grudge against the deceased. This applies to hurt also.
- (ii) If anyone is accidentally hurt or killed in the stone-throwing which sometimes accompanies a wedding, provided again that there is no grudge or feud.
- (iii) At a tent pegging match, if a *sowar* warn the by-standers that his horse is unmanageable, and if anyone is injured, no claim lies against the *sowar*.
- (iv) If a man cutting wood in a tree warn any person sitting under the tree, the man cutting is not responsible for any accident that may happen from falling branches.

If a person is injured by a runaway horse or other animal, the animal is usually given in compensation.

The burden of proof of any injury being accidental is on the party who inflicts the injury. A counsel of elders is summoned at his expense, and if he can satisfy them that the matter really was an accident, they assess the compensation as they think fit.

All feuds are suspended while the parties are out with a tribal *lashkar* or *chigha*.

Hurt and grievous hurt.—According to law the punishment for hurt is hurt of a similar nature to that inflicted, *i.e.*, for the loss of a limb, the punishment is the loss of a limb; for a wound, a similar wound; for a nose or ear cut, a nose or ear cut.

Revenge is the law, but should the offender either from fear or any other cause wish to avoid the revenge and stop the quarrel, he has to bring a sheep to the house of the injured man and kill it (*nanawati*). He must also bring some of the big men of the village or tribe with him. The case can then be compounded and payment of compensation made.

There is, however, a scale of compensation fixed by which nearly every form of hurt is to be compensated. The scale of compensation is as follows :—

For the permanent, total disablement of an arm or a leg, Rs. 500. If the disablement be not quite total, then the compensation is Rs. 250. If the disablement be only slight, the compensation is Rs. 120. .

	Rs.			
For loss of one eye	250
For loss of both eyes	500

The rates for loss of fingers are as follows:—

						Rs.
Thumb	...	...	...	...	...	250
1st finger	...	...	...	...	...	100
2nd „	...	...	...	...	...	86
3rd „	...	...	...	...	...	40
4th „	...	...	...	...	...	30

Compensation for teeth is—

Front, upper or lower	...	...	...	...	...	100
Further back	...	...	...	...	...	50
Back teeth	...	...	...	...	...	25

Rates of compensation for a female are the same as those for a male, as also are the rates for Hindus, except in Malakh *illāqa*, where the rates for woman and Hindus are half. The general scale of rates in Malakh *illāqa* for woman and Hindus is half that for Muhammadan men.

Offences in connection with women—Adultery.—If they are caught in the act, they may both be killed, but in the Malakh and Tappizad *illāqas*, where a woman is considered half a man, the woman is to be killed and the man's foot cut off; or, if the man is killed, half compensation must be paid to the relations of the man killed. This latter is the procedure invariably adopted in the Malakh *illāqa*.

Here, in a sense, the custom is at least as logical as the curious rule of Muhammadan Law (all rogated in 1801 by a regulation of the Bengal Government), that a person who intended to kill *A* but accidentally killed *B* instead, was not punishable capitally for what he intended or for what he actually did.—SIR R. K. WILSON.—*Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, p. 113.

Rape.—The man may be killed.

Assault with intent to outrage the modesty of a woman.—The man may be killed and half compensation paid or his foot may be cut off.

House-trespass to commit adultery.—The man's nose or ear may be cut off. If the husband suspects wife of being a consenting party, he may kill her.

Elopement.—The penalty for this is death or Rs 1,000, as is also the case with abduction.

Should a woman go wrong and become a bad character, the husband may cut off her nose and divorce her. Should she marry again, he is entitled to no compensation.

Offences against property.—The punishment for burglary, robbery and theft are all much the same. The amount of property stolen and compensation for damage done and expenses of the suit are recovered, plus a village fine of Rs. 40 to Rs. 200 according as the man can afford to pay.

If no damage is done and no property stolen, then the village fine alone is recovered.

Arson.—In cases of arson the matter is referred to the village *jirga*, who, if the offence is proved, realise a village fine of from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200, and compensation is realised and paid to the offended party.

Should any loss of life result from the fire, the penalty for murder is exacted in addition for each person who perishes in the flames.

Cutting of crops.—Compensation for the damage done is paid as well as a fine of Rs. 5 if the offence is committed by night, and Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 if the offence is committed by day.

W. J. KEEN, CAPTAIN,

Political Agent and Settlement Officer, Tochi.

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III.—CUSTOMARY LAW IN KURRAM.

Family and Tribal Connection.

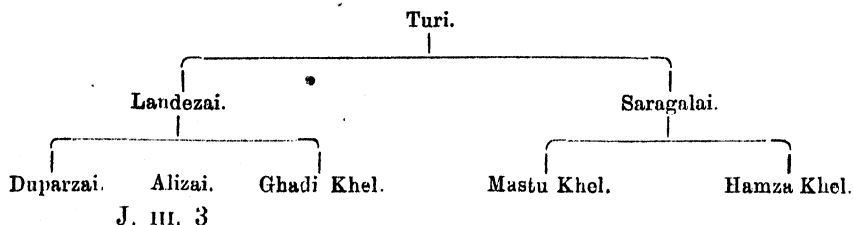
1. Among the Muhammadan inhabitants of the Kurram valley only persons descended from a common ancestor are considered to be relatives, i.e., *wārisān*. For the purpose of succession to property moveable or immoveable, the kindred of a wife are not considered to be relatives of the husband or of his relatives or children, except in cases where husband and wife belong to one family.

2. The system of reckoning generations is as follows:—

The generation of the person whose relatives are to be reckoned is regarded as the first generation, that of his father and uncles as the second generation in the ascending line, that of his grandfather as the third generation in the ascending line, and that of his son as the second generation in the descending line, and that of his grandson as the third generation in the descending line.

3. The Kurram valley is inhabited by Tūris, Sayyids, Bangash and Zaimusht. Only the first three clans are represented in the so-called Tūri *jirga*; the Zaimusht are quite separate from the Tūris, residing in the Lower Kurram and have a *jirga* of their own.

The following statement shows the various divisions among the Tūri clan:—



The Duperzai consist of 14 branches, viz:—Jaffar Khel, Sari Khel, Donlat Khel, Ambor Khel, Sultān Khel, Payas Khel, Shergha Khel, Megakh Khel, Mir Dad Khel, Tor Khel, Kleemi Khel, Dreplaraī, Kachkina, and Kamr Din Khel.

The Alizai ,, ,, 7 ,, ,, ... Misri Khel, Chagga Khel, Malik Khel, Mir Hassan Khel, Sharino Khel, Khoedad Khel, and Ahmad Khel.

The Ghandi Khel,, ,, 8 ,, ,, ... Alam Khel, Adin Khel, Panj Pai, Yusuf Khel, Mamat Khel, Nandar Khel, Tani Khel, Kami Khel.

The Mastu Khel ,, ,, 8 ,, ,, ... Feroze Khel, Haji Khel, Torkha Khel, Khel, Gharibzai Jani Khel, Bughdi Khel, Drewandi and Maru Khel.

The Hamza Khel,, ,, 13 ,, ,, ... Janak Khel, Saragala, Pari Khel, Shakkas Khel, Sati Khel, Spin Khel, Dreplaraī, Badarzai, Badi Khel, Mulli Khel, Jaji Khel, Aka Khel, and Kheshki.

There are four leading families of Tūri Sayyids, viz:—

(1) Sayyid Fakhr-i-Ālam Kaul, the descendants of which live in the village of Kirman, Grām, Zerān and Shālozān. The present head of this family is Sayyid Muhammad Akbar, son of Hanif Miān of Grām.

(2) Sayyid Mir Ībrāhīm Kaul, the descendants of which live in Ahmadzai, Nasti Kot, Nūrki and Shālozān. The present head of this family is Sayyid Hanif Jān, son of Bādshāh Gul Miān of Ahmadzai.

(3) Sayyid Ashāq Kaul, the descendants of which live in Mahūra, Agra and Baliāmin. The head of this family is Sayyid Pahlwān Shāh of Mahūra, though Sayyid Gul Husain of Baliāmin considers himself the head of the Baliāmin branch of the family.

(4) Sayyid Lāla Gul Kaul, the descendants of which live in Kharlachi. At present Sayyid Mir Kāsīm considers himself to be the head of the family, but the others do not recognise him as such.

Besides the above there are at present living in Kurram a number of Tirāh Sayyids, all descended from one Sayyid Shāh Anwār Miān; they are bitterly opposed to the Tūri Sayyids and possess great influence among the members of the Miān Murid faction of which they are the *pīrs*. The present head of the Tirāh Sayyids is Mir Akbar Miān of Shakkardarra.

The Tūri Bangash (Shīahs) consist of 10 branches, viz., Bakar Khel, Tajak, Yūsaf Khel, Hassanzai, Baghzai, Qādir Khel, Gabarai, Gharbina, Manjarai and Jalamzai. The leading men of this clan are Shāh Jahān Khān and Shirak, both of Shālozan.

The Tūri Bangash (Sunnis) are of one branch the present head of which is Muhammad Nazir of Ghamkot.

It is customary for every branch to depute one or more members as representatives to the Tūri *jirga*. If no factions exist in the branch itself then usually only one representative attends, otherwise each faction is represented.

The Zaimusht are composed of:—

- (1) Khoedād Khel.
- (2) Mannattuwal.
- (3) Mindan.
- (4) Wattizai.
- (5) Dāūdai (now extinct and not represented on the *jirga*).

The Khoedād Khel living in Kurram reside in Chappri. The headmen are Sāleh Khān and Rasūl Khān.

The Mannattuwal and Mindan living in Kurram occupy Durānai Chashi. The headmen are Usmān Khān and Khadin.

The Wattizai living in Kurram occupy Manduri, Ahmadai Shāh Mir Killi, Baggan and Uchat Killi. The headmen are Hamid Khān, Ghulam Haider, Izzat Khān, Mir Mast and Mir Aslam.

CIVIL.

Betrothal.—1. In Kurram there is no fixed age laid down at which or before which betrothals can take place. The general custom is that the girl should be about 15 or 16 years of age.

2. In the case of a girl, or of an unmarried woman who has attained the age of puberty, the contract of betrothal is made by her father or, in the event of her father being dead, by his heir. In the case of a widow, the making of the contract of betrothal lies with the heir of the deceased husband. No woman can make the contract of betrothal on behalf of herself or of her children.

In the case of a minor male the contract of betrothal can be made by his father or, if he is dead, by his heir, or by the guardian of the estate. A man, considered to be of age, can without reference to his own relatives, make a contract of betrothal on behalf of himself.

3. In Kurram betrothal and marriage is merely a matter of buying and selling; the formality observed at the time of betrothal is common throughout the valley; the man's relatives visit the father of the girl and, having before witnesses, arranged as to the price to be paid for the girl, they offer up prayers and go through the ceremony of *las porta kawal*, i.e., raising the hands or clinching the bargain.

4. Priority in betrothal does not entitle the female to priority in

marriage. A man having contracted a betrothal may marry another woman before he marries the woman to whom he was first betrothed.

5. A contract of betrothal can only be annulled on the following grounds:—

- (1) That both parties to the contract consent to the annulment.
- (2) That the man is proved to be impotent.
- (3) That either party is an idiot.
- (4) By death of either party.

6. In all cases of annulment of a contract of betrothal, the party by whom expenses have been incurred can claim a refund.

Marriage.—1. A man may not marry his mother, grandmother, mother-in-law, step-mother, step grand-mother, foster-mother, daughter, daughter-in-law, grand-daughter, grand-daughter-in-law, step-daughter, sister, foster-sister, niece, aunt.

2. Impotence, idiocy and mutilation are sufficient to annul a marriage. Should the party seeking annulment of the marriage have been aware of the defect at the time of or before the marriage, the other party can claim damages.

3. There are no disabilities, other than those which arise out of blood relationship or physical defect, which operate to bar marriage. Sunnis and Shiahs intermarry with Sayyids occasionally, but very rarely intermarry with other sects.

4. Yes, a man may marry two women closely related to each other provided that they are not barred by the articles of his religion.

5. A man may marry again a woman he has divorced, and it makes no difference if since the divorce proceedings the woman may have married another man. In such cases it is usual to delay the consummation of the marriage for a term varying from five to six months since the death of, or separation from, her last husband.

6. The degrees prohibited by consanguinity are also prohibited by fosterage, there being no exceptions.

7. A man is allowed by the Muhammadan Law to marry four wives only.

8. In Kurram it is customary for the marriage to take place when both the man and woman are over 16 years of age.

9. In the case of both parties being minors the consent of the guardians of both is necessary to the validity of the marriage. In the case of both parties being of full age, the consent of the woman's guardians is indispensable.

10. —

11. Any Muhammadan of full age and good reputation is a competent witness to a marriage contract.

12. No such contracts exist in the valley. A woman when married becomes the absolute property of her husband.

Divorce.—13. (1) The only recognised ground for the divorce of a wife is proof that she is an adulteress.

(2) Change of religion (i.e., Shiah to Sunnī) may constitute grounds for a divorce, but cases are known in which divorce has not taken place.

(3) A husband can divorce his wife without assigning any cause, but should he do so he would bring upon himself the wrath of his wife's relatives.

14. In Kurram there is no difference in the formalities to be observed in publicly announcing a divorce; as already noted, divorced parties may re-marry. There is no distinction between *tilak* and *khola*: in fact the latter is very rarely practised except when conjugal differences are brought to court for settlement.

15. A divorced wife has no claim whatever on her husband for maintenance.

16. A wife can only claim divorce from her husband on the grounds that (1) he is impotent, (2) he is insane.

Dower.—17. There is no such custom as giving or demanding dower with a woman at her marriage. In fact, women are merely sold and bought like cattle.

18.—

19. No marriage is considered valid unless all necessary ceremonies have been performed. Cohabitation does not constitute marriage.

Guardianship and Minority.—Yes, a father can appoint whomsoever he will, to be, after his decease, guardian of his children.

2. The guardianship of a male minor devolves on his mother as long as she does not re-marry. If the mother be dead the guardianship devolves on the paternal uncles; in the absence of such on the nearest male relatives on the paternal side.

No distinction is made as to the property; if the mother acts as guardian to her son she manages the estate in the name, and for the benefit of, her son.

The guardian of a female minor is the heir of her father, and the right to dispose of her in marriage lies with such guardian.

3.—

4. A guardian cannot alienate the property, moveable or immoveable, of his ward without the permission of the Political Agent. A guardian may lease the property for the period until his ward comes of age.

5. No contract of the guardian regarding moveable property is binding unless sanction as shown in answer 4 has been obtained.

6. The mother of her husband is entitled to the custody of a

married female infant; in the absence of such, the husband may himself obtain custody of such infant or appoint any person to look after her. The father of a married female infant has no claim to her custody.

7. A widow on remarriage loses the right to be guardian of her minor children, and on her again becoming a widow the right cannot be revived.

Powers of minors.—8. No.

9. Such contracts are not binding.

10. (1) A fatherless minor is liable for his father's debts.

(2) The property cannot be alienated without the consent of the creditor.

11. Females are always under guardianship. In the case of a married female her husband is her guardian; if she be a widow then she becomes the property of her deceased husband's heir.

In the case of an unmarried female her father and in his absence his heir is the guardian.

12. The mother or her relatives have first claim to the guardianship of the illegitimate children.

13. As regards capacity to act in marriage, divorce, the minority of a male ceases at the age of 16 years, but of females no age is fixed, for a woman is nothing more or less than a chattel.

Succession. 1—The estate of a man who at his death leaves widows, sons, daughters, brothers, etc., devolves first upon his sons; if there are no sons, upon his grandsons or great-grandsons and so on; in cases where a man has no sons his estate will devolve upon his brother. Females cannot inherit property.

2. Sons take equal shares in the inheritance. As a rule an estate is partitioned according to the number of widows, and their sons then receive their respective shares. No regard is paid to the caste or tribe of the mother, nor is any regard paid to the ages of the sons.

3. No, a father cannot nominate a particular son to inherit more than his brothers, nor can he bestow any excess share on any son during his lifetime.

4. In cases of partition of an estate held jointly by a father and his sons on the decease of the father, the whole estate is shared by the sons, whether or no any of the sons may have acquired or inherited any portion of it during the lifetime of the father.

5. No, the nearer descendants do not exclude the more remote, *i.e.*, grandsons or great-grandsons, whose fathers may be dead, will on the demise of the deceased receive their share of the estate along with and at the same time as the sons of the deceased.

6. An estate is divided into a number of equal shares corresponding

to the number of sons or brothers as the case may be, and these shares are further sub-divided among their descendants.

7. See answer 6.

8. The distribution shown in answer 6 applies to all cases of inheritance.

9. No degree is fixed.

10. The inheritance will devolve on his brothers or their descendants.

11 to 20. No woman can inherit. All widows and unmarried daughters become the property of the deceased's heir at his death and should be maintained by him.

21. In cases where a man dies leaving no male lineal descendants, the inheritance in the first instance devolves on his brothers or their descendants: if there be none and his father be alive, he would take over the estate.

22. As stated above, no woman can inherit an estate.

23. When the estate devolves on brethren, the order of succession is:—

- (1) Uterine associated brethren.
- (2) Unassociated brethren of the whole blood.
- (3) Associated brethren of the half-blood.
- (4) Unassociated brethren of the half-blood.

If a man die leaving a uterine brother separated, and a half-brother associated, his estate devolves on his uterine brother.¹

24. No.

25. Their sons inherit in the same order.

26. Never, unless their father was a lineal descendant of the deceased.

27. As before stated, no woman can own property in the valley.

28. A son will always inherit the estate of his natural father, but has no claim to the estate of a step-father.

29. No.

30. A step-father is not bound to maintain his step-children, but it is customary in the valley, when a widow with children re-marries, that an agreement is drawn up by which the step-father binds himself to maintain his wife's children by a former husband until they are of age or married.

31. In Kurram the condition of society is such that no case has been known of a man dying and leaving no relations; should such a case

¹ This appears to be in strict accord with the general principle of Muhammadan Law explained in Wilson's Introduction, pp. 146-7.

occur, his estate, in all probability, will be divided up among the members of the section to which he belonged. I would note here that a custom peculiar to Kurram exists as to the inheritance of the property of a *hamsāyah*. The system of maintaining *hamsāyahs* has existed ever since the Tūris have been in Kurram. Should a *hamsāyah* die the custom is for the *nāik* or over-lord to inherit his property, and his descendants still remain the *hamsāyahs* of the *nāik* or of his descendants.

32. Should a man retire from the world and enter a religious order, this makes no difference to his right to succeed to an estate by inheritance.

Adoption.—Adoption is not recognised in the valley.

Bastardy.—1. In such case the offspring of such marriage will be considered illegitimate.

2. If the father publicly acknowledges the child to be his son the latter can inherit. No such cases are known in Kurram, all wives are purchased, and are nothing more nor less than slaves.

3. No.

4. —

Wills and legacies.—No customs regarding wills or legacies exist in the valley.

Gifts.—No such custom exists.

Partition.—1. In Kurram it is the custom for families to live together and manage the estate jointly; should, however, any member of a family desire to manage some portion of the estate for his own use, the consent of all partners must first be obtained. On the death of the head of the family this portion already partitioned again comes into the joint estate for partition among the heirs, though if they agree to continue to manage the estate jointly, the previous holder with the consent of the remaining partners may retain possession.

2. Yes, sons have the right to claim partition, but this is rarely exercised.

3. No, sons have the right to equal shares.

4. Wives are not entitled to any shares.

5. If a partition is made of an estate during the lifetime of the father, the estate is divided equally between father and sons, each receiving an equal share.

6. Redistribution of the estate will have to be made. The father's reserved share will be divided equally among all the sons.

7. Only sons can claim a partition of the estate as a matter of right.

8. A widow cannot claim any share, see answer 4.

9. All property, moveable or immoveable, acquired or inherited, belonging to the estate must be brought into partition.

10. No.

11. All property acquired by the father after partition will be shared equally at the father's death by all sons, whether they remained associated with him or not.

12. No.

Penal law among the Turis of the Kurram valley.—In the Kurram valley as far as the consequence of the deeds are concerned, there is no difference between murder and the accidental killing of a man, whether male or female, adult or minor. The penalty is the same in either case. Blood-money or compensation for murder in the valley is Rs. 360 Kābuli for any person of any class or social standing and of any age or sex. There is no distinction of Hindu and Muhammadan. In the case of murder the punishment is death by the hands of the relations of the murdered person or, if they cannot do it themselves, by the hands of a hired assassin.

2. The case can be compounded on the intervention of the village *jirga* on payment of a sum of Rs. 360 Kābuli which in the valley is called *Saz*. In some cases when the relations of the murdered person agree, a girl is given in marriage to the nearest relation of the deceased.

3. In no case does the right of self-defence extend to the causing of death or to permanently maiming one. Should a person in self-defence kill another one, he has to pay compensation for his actions as stated above. There is no exception to the general rule. If a person is accidentally killed by the hands of another, the person who thus kills him is supposed to be a murderer and so will have to pay blood-money as usual. Accident in such matters is nothing. There is one point, however, worthy of note, *i.e.*, the person who accidentally kills another is not regarded as an enemy. His blood-money is accepted and no blood feud arises. If a person is accidentally killed in a *ghara* (local dance) or in the ceremony of stone-throwing at a marriage procession or tent-pegging, blood-money will have to be paid for the sake of removal of bad feelings which may otherwise arise. If a person is killed by an animal, for instance horse, mule, donkey, cow, bullock, and the animal is not known to be vicious, and besides its owner is not present at the time of the accident, nothing for such an accident is to be paid by the owner. If, however, an animal is known to be vicious, its owner will have to pay blood-money to the heirs of the person killed.

4. There is no right of self-defence except in the following case. If a person is killed when he is at night breaking into the house of

another person for any purpose, his relations can make no claim to blood-money.

Simple and serious hurt.—In the valley it is customary in cases of simple and serious hurt for the parties to compound, *i.e.*, the assailant performs *nanawathi* at the house of the injured party. There are, however, besides the performance of *nanawathi* the following penalties in cases when injury of a permanent nature has been inflicted :—

- (1) For one hand Rs 190 Kābuli is paid.
- (2) For two hands Rs. 360 Kābuli is paid.
- (3) For one eye, Rs. 190 Kābuli is paid.
- (4) For two eyes, Rs. 360 Kābuli is paid.
- (5) For thumb, whether of hand or foot, Rs. 25 Kābuli is paid.
- (6) For other fingers, Rs. 10 Kābuli is paid for each.
- (7) For each of the ears, Rs. 20 Kābuli is paid.

(8) In the case of teeth, Rs. 25 each is paid, but if it is proved that two or more teeth have been injured by a single stroke then in that case some reduction in the compensation which is to be paid is usually made.

- (9) In the case of nose, Rs. 190 Kābuli is to be paid.

Adultery.—In the case of adultery the man and woman both, if caught, are liable to be killed. If only suspicion is aroused against a man and he is unable to clear himself by taking oath, then Rs. 85 Kābuli only is to be paid as *sharmana*, and the woman not killed. In the case of an assault with intent to outrage the modesty of a woman, the punishment for the man is to pay Rs. 85 Kābuli only as *sharmana*. In the case of house trespass to commit adultery, the same amount of Rs. 85 is to be paid as *sharmana*. In the case of elopement, if the girl eloped with is not married her father or brother will have to take her price fixed by a tribal *jirga*. If she is a married woman then her original price, *i.e.*, what had been paid for her by her former husband, and Rs. 85 Kābuli in addition as *sharmana* will have to be paid.

The punishment for burglary, robbery, theft, arson, cutting crops, and damaging trees in a garden is payment of compensation amounting to the value of the loss or damage, which is determined by a tribal *jirga* sworn to on oath by the person injured, in addition to the amount of fine which the tribal *jirga* may consider proper and fix to be paid.

Marriage.—1. In the valley usually young persons of about the same age are engaged and married.

2. Sometimes an old man marries a young woman, when his first wife is dead or very ugly, to pass his life with.

3. Sometimes an old woman marries a young man, when the man

stands in need of a wife and is too poor to arrange for regular marriage for himself.

4. Girls and boys are seldom married.

5. When a person intends to engage his son to the daughter of another, he with some of his friends settles the question of price with the guardian of the girl, and then the engagement is celebrated by singing and drinking. The first duty after the contract of engagement is made is *las porta koul*.

6. A week or so after the engagement the female relations of the young man engaged take gifts with them and go to the girl's father's house. This is called *khaparta*.

7. When a date for the completion of the marriage ceremonies is fixed and the amount of expenditure which is to be paid to the girl's father agreed upon, then the female members of the young man go to the girl's house with more gifts, and this custom here is called *khowāra*.

8. The marriage procession of men is called *janj* and of women *wāra*.

9. A *mullāh* makes the marriage contract after the girl gives her consent before two reliable witnesses.

10. The price of a woman was in former times from Rs. 60 to 110 Kābuli and never more, but now it is from Rs. 200 to 2,000 according to the beauty and position of the girl.

11. The Tūris, Sayyids and Bangash of the valley usually don't give their daughters to poor people, but if they can find a man of position and wealth, then they make no objection in giving their girls, whoever he may be in nationality.

12. After engagement, if the man engaged dies, the girl, if her guardian has no objection, may be married to his brother or some other near relative. If she or her guardian make any objection they will have to return what they have been paid for the girl, and then they may give her to any person they like.

13. After marriage a woman becomes the property of her husband and after his death of his heirs. She may be disposed of by her husband and after his death by his heirs, if she is not liked or otherwise objected to. Some time when the father or the brother of the woman married agrees to pay back the price originally paid for the woman by her husband, then the woman is made over to him or them. The father or brother then have the right to dispose of her as they please.

S. WATERFIELD,

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5th October, 1903.

IV. DIR, SWAT AND CHITRAL AGENCY.

Note on Customary Law in Swāt.

The Native State of Dir is under the rule of the Nawab. His family are Yusafzais and the customary law there differs from that of Swat chiefly because the will of the ruler often prevents the people from following the unwritten dictates of their *riwaj* or customary law.

The first chapter of the unwritten Penal Code of the Yūsfaiz is the one dealing with offences affecting the human body. The highest crime in this class is the taking of human life. If the act is voluntary, it can only be condoned by the death of the aggressor. The heirs of a murdered man are bound to secure the death of the murderer, by fair means or foul, and the latter must take shelter in exile in another village or *tappa*, which is expected to give him sanctuary. If the aggrieved party determines on retaliation against the refugee, he does so at the recognised risk of his own life, and men have often lost their lives in the attempt to obtain their revenge. The payment or acceptance of blood-money is exceptional. The price fixed for a Pathān's life is Rs. 360, and if it is not acceptable when patching up a *rogħa* or *sulah*, a *swarah* is added. This means that a girl is given away unceremoniously, mounted on horseback and not taken in a dooly, to the party making the peace. In the matter of compensation, a woman is equal to half a man, and a serious or grievous injury to half a life in both cases. Children as soon as born bear the full value of human lives, male or female as the case may be. There is no difference in the case of Hindūs who, while living amongst Pathāns and conforming to their rules and customs, have similar valuations. Attempt at murder is considered an offence, and the man whose life is attempted is justified in killing his adversary as in self-defence. But the offence is compoundable on payment of a *nagħa* or fine to the *jirga* which may amount to Rs. 100, or a *nanawate* to the aggrieved party. The *nanawate* is a deputation of *mians*, *mullas* and elders sent by the aggressor to intercede and bring about a *rogħa* with the opposite party. If the aggrieved party is not inclined to come to terms, he forewarns the *nanawate* not to come, or quits his house to avoid it; but it is not considered good form to do so, and generally a man is prevailed upon by a second if not the first *nanawate*. If a man absolutely refuses to listen to, a *nanawate* his only recourse is to leave the village.

Causing serious hurt with intent to commit murder is half a murder. The compensation is Rs. 180, which may be reduced to Rs. 100, if the wound is not dangerous or severe. Causing the death of a

man is excusable, if it is proved to be the result of accident or chance. The burden of proof of this lies on the party causing the death. The right of self-defence is allowed to everybody even if he be under a sentence of death according to *riwaj*, i.e., if he is a *dushmandar* or *sharunkai* for murder or elopement. It may extend to the killing of an antagonist. Revenge must follow the actual offender in the first instance, but failing him his next of kin is under the blood-feud especially in cases of murder. In *matiza* or elopement cases only the guilty pair are liable. An abettor comes within the scope of the custom of revenge, and is liable to a fine of Rs. 80, by the *jirga*. If the injured party kill a relation of the actual offender when he has not been guilty of the abetment of the crime, this is held to clear the original culprit and the *Badla* or feud revenge is over. If the offender escapes revenge upon himself, personally, the legacy is handed down to his progeny who must stand the chances of a blood-feud or make atonement by means of paying blood-money, giving a *swara*, or trying the good offices of a *nanawate*. The employment of a hired assassin for purposes of revenge is considered awful, and in case of failure or success, the bravo is not involved in the progress of the blood-feud.

There are many cases, in which unintentional loss of life resulting from a rash or negligent act is attributed to *kismet* or fate and the delinquent is exempted from the consequences of his doings.

Such are :—

Casualties occurring in sham fights at the *Īds*, or during marriage processions.

Fatal accidents attending a *shikār* or hunting expedition.

Mistaken treatment or operation by a doctor.

Meeting with death in learning to swim or ride with the help of another person.

Any other fatalities which may be plainly ascribed to unforeseen circumstances.

In such cases no claim for compensation lies, nor is a basis for a blood-feud admitted by the *jirga*. When a tribal fight is raging, or a *ghazā* or religious war is declared, all feuds remain in abeyance. And similarly when a *laskhar* or tribal force is turned out for offensive or defensive purposes.

Bodily injury.—For this the Mosaic law of retaliation in the same degree holds good—an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But if the parties are amenable to a mutual settlement, there are scales by which the varying amounts of compensation can be assessed.

			Rs.
For the total loss of an arm	...	...	180
For the total loss of a leg	...	...	180
For fracture of the skull	...	...	30—80
A wound or cut on the face	...	...	40—80—100
Loss of an eye	...	...	180
Cutting off the nose	...	...	105—180
Cutting off an ear	...	...	40—50
Breaking or pulling out a tooth	...	...	30—50
Cutting off a finger or fingers	...	...	40—100
Castration, partial or total	...	...	100—180

As before stated, there is no reduction in the case of a Hindu, but a woman's injuries would be assessed at half the prices quoted above.

Adultery.—The punishment for this is death for both parties, whether they are caught in the act or after it. Presumptive or circumstantial evidence, or general report is considered sufficient to establish the guilt of the parties, who may or may not be married. If only the woman is killed and the man escapes, or *vice versa*, he or she is considered an outlaw liable to be killed at any time by the wronged party or their paid assassin. For a woman thus exiled there is no hope of grace, but a man may succeed in securing his pardon by giving a *sawara* to the offended person or his next of kin, and paying a fine of Rs. 80 to the *jirga* for his rehabilitation in the village.

Rape.—The man must be killed, but the woman is not considered fit to or allowed to live. She is generally killed to justify the death of the man. Should the heirs of the woman not wish to kill her, they are called upon by the *jirga* to pay a fine of Rs. 80 for their low sense of honour. Assault with intent to outrage the modesty of a woman is tantamount to rape in all respects, and is treated in the same manner.

House trespass to commit adultery.—For a first offence the man is liable to a *nāgha* of Rs. 40—80, provided no encouragement was known from the woman's side. If the man repeats his visit he is supposed to be acting in concert with the woman and the consequences are similar to those of adultery. If another woman is suspected of playing the go-between in such intrigues her nose is cut off. This is generally the punishment for abetment of illicit intercourse.

Elopement.—Whether the man or woman be married or unmarried, the offence and its punishment is the same as that of adultery. In rare cases a *rogħa* can be effected by means of a *swara* as before mentioned. Divorce is very uncommon amongst Pathāns, and though sanctioned by religion, is not practised by those having any self-respect. If a man finds fault with his wife he may supersede her by another, or send her away to her parents; but her honour would still be bound

up with his, and if she misbehave herself, her husband has a right to kill her. When living in such separation the woman cannot have the custody of her children.

Offences against property—Burglary, robbery, etc.—If a man is caught in the act of lurking house-trespass or house-breaking by night, he is liable to be killed, whether he is armed or unarmed, and his relations can claim no reparation. The same is the case with a highway robber caught red-handed. If only suspected or caught after the commission of the crime, incriminating evidence is looked for, and, if it be obtained, the accused has to make good the loss to the injured party in accordance with what the latter may take oath to, besides paying to the *jirga* a fine of Rs. 40—80. An unsuccessful attempt at theft, or even a case when the stolen property is quietly and amicably returned, renders the guilty man liable only to a fine, which may be anything under Rs. 40.

Arson.—The offender is fined up to Rs. 100 by the *jirga* and made to pay the loser the value of the property lost or damaged. If the act of an incendiary entails loss of life, intentional or unintentional, he is responsible for the consequences like any ordinary murderer. In such cases, as in all wanton and deliberate murders, the malefactor's escape causes the punishment to fall upon his house, which is burnt down, his cattle, which are cut up, and his land, which is partitioned amongst the aggrieved party; or, if they are too proud to profit by the loss of their relatives, amongst other members of the community.

Cutting or damaging of crops.—If a man is found at night cutting another's crops, he can be killed or wounded with impunity by the owner or watchman. Failing this the owner is entitled to recover the value of the crops destroyed, and the *jirga* may impose a fine ranging from Rs. 5 to 40. Cattle found stray and grazing in crops are at the mercy of the owner or his watchman. According to custom they can be killed on the spot,¹ but not after the animal has left the field where it has been feeding, nor if the animal be muzzled. An animal cannot be destroyed for feeding off a heap of corn or a stalk of garnered sheaves. Then the owner is supposed to be more careful than in the case of crop, and if he allows cattle to get near he is supposed to have himself to thank. Destruction in this case is not warranted and has to be compensated for.

Marriage customs.—As a rule, marriages are arranged by the parents of the parties. When a boy comes of age, his parents or guardians cast about for a suitable match for him. If a girl is available

¹ This custom has now been declared illegal by the Raniyai, and the Sam Raniyai jugas also have agreed that claim for damage shall be substituted.—S. H. G.

in the family, no search is made in the outer circle, as it is always considered desirable and advisable to cement the bonds of possible union in each family. The Muhammadan law provides a wide field for selection among relations, and close marriages are very common. In such cases money dealings do not play an important part, as the contracting parties are equally interested in the consummation of the union. Only the expenses befitting the position of the parties in society and necessary for the celebration of the nuptial ceremonies are incurred, and they are chiefly borne by the relatives of the bridegroom. When recourse has to be had to the outer world, enquiries are undertaken by agents and go-betweens before the scheme can be seriously started by either side. The jealous care with which women are generally kept concealed, renders the selection of a bride an affair of extreme interest and difficulty. This mission is undertaken by professional negotiators in the persons of *dums* who are a privileged class. They are entrusted with the secret councils of a family, and their wives act as servants to the ladies. Through their agency they know both the character and the personal appearance of every eligible young woman in the countryside. They are prominent factors in all matrimonial engagements, and being critics of experience their advice is followed to a considerable extent. Among the lower classes the preliminaries would be simpler¹ and more direct. If these are satisfactory, a day is appointed on which a deputation from the bridegroom's party, sometimes accompanied by his womenfolk, proceeds to the residence of the girl to celebrate the betrothal or *kozhdan*. This does not consist of any feasting or noisy music, but a sum varying between Rs. 100 and 1,000, according to the attractions of the bride or the importance of her family, is paid down to her parents or guardians, and a piece of ornament is deposited as a present for the girl in token of the affiancing, which is thereby considered as a solemn pledge that cannot be broken. The ceremony is attended with the drinking of *sharbat*, and this is known as the *gut* or sip. Sometimes the form of the religious *nikah* and an oration by the *mullah* coupling the names of the contracting parties is gone through, in order to attach more gravity to the bond and make it still more binding. After this there is an interchange of visits between the representatives of both families, and as long as the actual marriage or *wadah* has not taken place, periodical presents of clothes or trinkets are sent for the bride on the occasion of each *akhtar* and *shab-kadar*, i.e., the Id and the full moon of the lunar month of Shaban. This

¹ The term 'Nindra,' originally Panjabi, is also known as signifying the subscription for marriage. But 'janj' is usually used.—S. H. G.

may continue for some years if the *kozhdun* happens in early life, as the full marriage only takes place when parties have attained puberty. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage his brother or other near relation succeeds him and claims the girl as his bride. In this sense she belongs to the man's family and is inherited as such. Should the engagement be broken off and the girl given away to some other person, or the girl choose her own husband, it involves the parties in a feud on the lines of adultery as before mentioned. If the bride dies during the period of betrothal, her parents must return all the money, jewels, etc., which they have received on her account, or arrange to provide a substitute in the person of her sister or a near relation satisfactory to the people of the bridegroom, who resume their relations and dealings with the new fiancé as usual. When the time of the final marriage approaches, a day is mutually fixed upon, and on this date a procession of men, women and bards, called together for the occasion, starts from the residence of the bridegroom. On arrival at their destination, the men proceed to the *hujra* of the bride's relations, and the women called the *rwa* go to the house of the bride. As a rule the latter find the door shut against them, and are refused admission until they pay a tribute to the bride in the form of a trinket or two. Then they are allowed to enter, and singing and dancing and feasting is indulged in for two or three days. To meet the necessary expenditure there, a subscription in aid of the bridegroom's party is contributed by the members of the marriage procession. This is called the *janj*.¹ It is a reciprocal and provident arrangement by which the pressure on the bridegroom's party is relieved for the time. The term is also used for marriage procession in Swab. On their departure with the dooly conveying the bridegroom, the procession is invariably assailed by a troop of boys from the village who pelt them with stones, regardless of consequences to which no responsibility attaches.

Widow remarriage is very common. The first claimant for a widow's hand is her late husband's brother, and next to him his near relations. If she takes a man of her own choice, the pair run the risk of a feud similar to that arising out of adultery. If a widow elects to remain a widow, she is entitled to enjoy the produce of her husband's legacy but has no right to encumber or alienate the same.

Polygamy is universal, with its domestic jealousy, intrigue and trife. The co-wives are supposed to occupy an equal position, and

¹ This word occurs in Western Panjabi in the sense of 'marriage procession, the company that attends the bridegroom at a wedding.'—Wilson's Dictionary of Western Panjabi, p. 27; G. O'Brien's Glossary of Multani Dictionary, p. 382. (The word appears to be connected with *janju*, Braminical thread: *ibidense*.)

only differ in their command of influence and affection on the part of their husband. The mere bartering of women is common enough, and the lowest price in such transaction is Rs 40 rising in direct proportion to the charms or qualifications of the female. This business is generally conducted by professionals. There is no geographical limit to the intermarriage of Pathāns or others, so long as they occupy corresponding social position and status.

Hindus living amongst Pathāns are affected to a great extent by the customs and manners of the latter, whom they follow very closely in their civil and criminal law. For instance, a Hindu will not hesitate to marry his brother's widow—a double abhorrence to a Punjab Hindu. They are implacable in their blood-feuds, and having the longer purse, are less amenable to mild measures of settlement. They resort to most Muhammadan *ziārats* or places of pilgrimage with offerings.

Inheritance.—The guiding principle is the Muhammadan book law, with the exception that a woman is debarred from the independent acquisition of property; but she has the option of disposing of her marriage portion or dowry which is conceded to her as a personal asset.

Agraharis of Sasaram.—By L. S. S. O'MALLEY, I.C.S. Communicated by
the Anthropological Secretary.

From the Bengal Census Report for 1901 it would appear that the number of Sikhs in this province is extremely small. It is stated in Chapter IV of that report that in the year 1901 there were only 340 Sikhs by religion in Bengal; while in Appendix VI, 1,033 persons (626 males and 407 females) are shewn under the heading of Sikhs by caste, and it is explained that properly this is the name of a religion and that these persons are chiefly found in Calcutta. From the paucity of their numbers it may perhaps be presumed that these Sikhs were either temporary settlers from the Punjab who had come to Calcutta for the purposes of trade, or men who happened to be on a visit to that place at the time of the census. It may, however, be questioned whether a body of men, belonging to the caste of Agraharis, who have for many generations been settled in the small town of Sasaram in the district of Shahabad, should not also have been classed as Sikhs. Some years ago, when I was stationed at Sasaram, I was struck with the appearance of these men, whose features, physique and dress appeared to indicate a Northern origin. I found on enquiry that they stated that they had been settled in the place for centuries and that they claimed to be true Sikhs and not merely, as Hunter states in his *Statistical Account of Bengal*,¹ Sikhs by descent. They professed to have followed the Sikh faith for many generations, although they have no intercourse or communication with the main body of Sikhs; and as the presence of such an isolated colony in an out-of-the-way town in Behar seemed to promise an enquiry of some interest, I endeavoured to discover how far these claims were substantiated. The Agraharis were somewhat reluctant to impart information about their customs, on the ground that they were averse to giving outsiders an insight into the secrets of their caste; but finally an old native friend of mine in the town succeeded in eliciting from the elders of the caste the facts which are mentioned in the following note.

2. The Agraharis of Sasaram follow the trade of cloth and grain merchants, number about 700 souls and are divided into two classes:

the Singh Agraharis and the Munria Agraharis. The former, who are by far the larger class as they amount to about 675 persons, profess to be the followers of the Guru Govind Singh, revere the Granth and regard it as an essential of their religion to keep the outward signs of Sikhism. In this belief, they abstain from tobacco, keep their hair and beard unshorn, wear the iron *karad* or dagger, the iron *kara* or bracelet, the wooden *kanga* or comb and the *kachh* or short drawers. They still observe a rite of initiation for admitting outsiders in their sect, which corresponds to the *pahul* or *amrit* of orthodox Sikhs. This ceremony, which they call the *khanda amrit chakhao* or the *charna amrit chakhao*, is performed in the presence of five Sikhs. The latter repeat *mantras* and the neophyte has to put on the *karad*, *kara*, *kachh*, and *kanga*, drink the *charna amrit* (i.e., *batása* or sugar and water mixed and stirred with a dagger), and finally partake of the *kara parshád*. The dagger with which this mixture is stirred, is of two kinds: one known as the *khanda* and the other as the *kirpan*, of which the point only is used. The *khanda* is apparently used for initiating males; and the *kirpan* is used only when women are admitted, into the caste, e.g., when a Singh marries a Munria woman. They are of different shapes, as shewn in the accompanying sketch:—



Kirpan.

Fig. 1.



Khanda.

Fig. 2.

The obligation to keep the hair and beard unshorn, to eschew the hookah and to wear the articles of dress already mentioned is a binding article of faith; and any neglect or failure in this respect is visited with excommunication, even though it may be due to such an accidental circumstance as illness. The offender is completely out-casted; no Agrahari will take food or water touched by him; and he can only be re-admitted into the brotherhood by paying a fine which is regarded as a propitiatory offering to the Guru and the Granth, and by again going through the purifying ceremony of the *charna amrit* mentioned above. The members of the sect also keep the Sikh communication of *kara parshád* at which they eat cakes (called *mohan dhog* and made of flour, sugar, ghee and spices), which are consecrated with certain ceremonies by their own gurus. This sacrament is usually taken on the last day of the month, but it is also taken during festivals and sometimes in

fulfilment of a vow ; and one great feast at which all members of the caste attend is held annually during the rainy season on the 16th Bhado.

The other sect of Agraharis, known as the Munrias, are very few in number, as they amount only to about 25 persons. These are the followers of Nanak, revere his Granth and shave like other Hindus. Like the Singh Agraharis they observe the *khanda amrit chakkhao* for re- admitting the excommunicated ; but there is one point of dissimilarity in the ceremony, viz., that the Munrias do not use the *khanda*, and, though like the Singhs they use the *kirpan*, they do not stir the *batása* with the point but only with the hilt. Another feature of the ritual as practised by them is that they bathe the feet of the wooden *chauki* or throne on which the Granth is kept, and the four corners of the cloth with which it is covered.

The two sects intermarry to a slight extent, as a Singh Agrahari can marry his son to the daughter of a Munria, if the ceremony known as *pabitri* is performed, under which the girl is initiated by worshipping the Granth and by drinking the *charna amrit*. In other words, she is considered to have entered the brotherhood of Singh Agraharis by this rite and the marriage is thereby rendered possible. There is, however, a very strong objection among the latter sect to any of its members marrying his daughter to a Munria boy, and such a marriage is looked on as a disgrace to the family. There is no doubt, in fact, that the customs regulating intermarriage between the two sects shew that there is a religious barrier fixed between the two sects of Singh and Munria Agraharis which can only be passed by the latter. This fact was explained by my informant by the expression, "the Munria can become a Sikh but the Sikh cannot become a Munria ;" and the meaning of this is, he stated, that a Sikh cannot become a Munria any more than a Muhammadan can become a Hindu ; but that a Munria can become a Sikh by passing through the initiatory rite of *khanda amrit* and by partaking of the *kara parshád*. The explanation at least serves to show how great is the cleavage between the two sects.

3. Although the Agraharis have, as indicated above, retained many of the forms of the Sikh ceremonial, it would be a mistake to suppose that they have kept that religion pure and undefiled. Like the Sikhs of the Punjab, they have, in many ways, relapsed into Hinduism, though on the other hand a faithful few strive to remain orthodox. The better educated who have studied the works of the Gurus, worship, it is said, only one God and revere the Granth and the ten Gurus ; while the wealthier among them stimulate their Sikh faith by occasional pilgrimages to the holy shrines, such as Amritsar, the Harmandil at Patna, where the Guru Govind Singh was born, and

Naderh, which, like other Sikhs, they designate Abchalnagar or the town of the Guru's departure. The common class, however, have no scruples in worshipping the images of Hindu gods and in adopting the religious customs of their Hindu neighbours. Although they still continue to worship the Granth, which is, they aver, their *isht deota* or favourite god, they also recognize a *kul deota* or family god. The latter may be any of the regular Hindu pantheon such as Devi, Durga, Hanuman, Mahabir or even less orthodox gods such as Narsingh or the Panch Pir—the adoration of the latter being due possibly to the fact that Sasaram is distinctly a Muhammadan town, as the personages of which they say the Panch Pir consists, appear Muhammadan, viz., Subhan, Parihar, Ajab Salar, Gur Muhammad and Bahlim. The Agraharis also commonly employ Brahmans for religious ceremonies like other modern Sikhs. It is said that formerly Brahmans objected to officiating for them and to acting as their family priests; but that there is now no longer any objection to their doing so. They are not regarded as in any way degraded on this account; and their services are freely utilized by the Agraharis for domestic occasions. On the other hand, there are still limitations to their employment; as only the Sikh gurus can officiate at certain of the ceremonies which are peculiar to the caste, e.g., at the *khanda amrit* and the *kara parshád*.

Even at the *kara parshád* or rather at one form of it, Hindus who do not belong to the Agrahari caste and have no pretension to be Sikhs are allowed to be present and to partake. It is explained that the reason of this is that the rite, as observed by the Agraharis, is of two kinds. In celebrating the first, the cakes of which the communicants partake, are touched by the *karad* or dagger; a weapon which is different from the *kirpan* and *khanda*, and is shaped as in the accompanying sketch.



Karad.

Fig. 3.

It is believed that any kind of food touched by the *karad* is purified, and thereby becomes an acceptable offering; and it is said that when so purified, the ordinary Hindu does not partake of it. When the second kind of *kara parshád* is celebrated, the *tulsi* leaf is mixed with the cakes and all the Hindus present may join in eating them. This

tolerance may possibly be accounted for by the fact that many of the lower castes at Sasaram follow the Nanakshahi *panth* and may, therefore, be regarded by the Agraharis as not altogether outside the pale. Even Brahmans, who formally did not attend on such occasions, are now present, when the *kara parshād* is celebrated. They do not, however, take any part in the ceremony, and are not given any of the offerings. These are appropriated by the gurus of the caste who consecrate the cakes of which the communicants partake.

4. The leavening influence of Hinduism may also be seen in the ordinary customs of every-day life, such as funerals, marriages, etc. Like other Hindus, the Agraharis burn their dead. The bodies of children under 28 months of age are, however, buried on their backs and with the head to the north. They perform *sraddha* in the same way as other Hindus, and, like the orthodox, go on pilgrimage to Gaya to make offerings for the souls of their ancestors. As regards funeral obsequies, the Singh Agraharis are in fact differentiated from other Hindus only by the fact that they do not shave their hair as a sign of mourning.

The marriage customs obtaining among them are also generally the same as among the Hindu community; but occasionally the more orthodox perform a special ceremony called *anandji*, which is, they say, the old form of marriage observed by Sikh Agraharis. At this ceremony, Brahmans do not officiate; but Sikh gurus recite *mantras* from the Granth and call down blessings on the married couple.

Widow marriage, though it sometimes takes place, is considered disgraceful. It is performed only in the presence of members of the family, and a Brahman is not employed unless a degraded Brahman can be obtained. The contracting parties are outcasted and are only re-admitted within the caste after they have paid a fine and have gone through the ceremony of *charna amrit*; while the widow who has re-married is debarred from touching any of the articles used for worship and from worshipping the *kul deota* or family god. There is one exception, however, to this rule which seems to embody a custom peculiar to this sect, *viz.*, that there is no objection to a widow marrying her deceased husband's younger brother, though she may not marry the elder brother.

5. It must be admitted that the general customs of this caste are practically the same as those of other Hindus. In this respect the tendency to adopt Hindu practices has been the same as in the Punjab. In the Census Report¹ of the Punjab for 1881 it is observed that "the

¹ Vol. I, page 137.

precepts which forbid the Sikh to venerate Brahmans and to associate with Hindu worship are entirely neglected; and in the matter of the worship of local saints and deities and of the employment of, and reverence for, Brahmans, there is little, while in current superstitions and superstitious practices there is no difference between the Sikh villager and his Hindu brother In weddings and on other domestic occasions the Hindu ritual is followed; and in fact the Sikh is to be distinguished from the Hindu by little but the five external signs, his abstinence from tobacco and his reverence for the Granth." Even in the Punjab, it was found during the census of 1891¹ that the best practical test of a Sikh was to ascertain whether, calling himself a Sikh, he wore uncut hair and abstained from tobacco; and the rule observed was to enter as Sikh by religion those who answered that test. If the line of distinction between Sikh and Hindu is so vague even in the centre of Sikhism, it is not unnatural that it should be extremely indeterminate in a place far removed from Sikh influences. It can, therefore, be only a matter of surprise that the Agraharis of Sasaram have retained many of the ceremonial observances peculiar to the Sikhs; that they answer so well to the test of a Sikh referred to above; and that their profession of Sikhism is borne out to such an extent by their customs and practices.

6. The question how this caste, which still observes much of the Sikh ritual, came to be settled in an out-of-the-way town so far south is one of particular interest. It would appear from the account of Buchanan-Hamilton that the followers of the Sikh religion were, in his time, fairly numerous in Behar. Buchanan-Hamilton spoke of the Sikh sect in Behar as being "considerably more numerous than any of the five that since the time of Sangkar Acharya have been usually considered orthodox."² He said that the doctrines of Nanak had made much more progress in Behar and Shahabad than in Gorakhpur; that Rekabganj in the suburbs of Patna was "by far the greatest place of worship in these countries;" and that there he met one Govinda Das whom he described as the chief of a bang or division of the sect presiding over 360 *gadis* or thrones, *i.e.*, "a considerable but indefinite number of places where there is a seat, called a throne, for his reception." This Govinda Das acknowledged that at Lucknow and Murshidabad there were two persons of equal rank to himself, but denied that this dignity was due to the persons in the districts of Behar and Shahabad who

¹ *Census Report of the Punjab, 1891, Part I, page 91.*

² Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, pages 211 and 214; and Vol. II, page 448-449.

claimed the honour of independence. The Sikhs mentioned by Buchanan-Hamilton seem to have been lax followers of Nanak. He says that they "follow exactly the same customs that they did before their admission; they observe the same rules of caste, employ the same Brahmans as *Purohits* in every ceremony, and in all cases of danger worship exactly the same gods; they abandon only the daily worship of the family god (*Kuladevata*).” Finally, he says, that Govinda Das seemed to know little of the branch of the sect which he describes as “the *Khalesahs* who are of the church militant and who usually, as such, assume the title of Singha or Lion;” and that, there being scarcely any of them in those parts, he will say nothing farther concerning the Singhas than that the Harimandir in Patna, where Govinda, the last universal head of the sect was born, although held sacred by the whole sect, was in their possession. He adds that the keeper of this shrine had in the whole of the two districts of Behar and Shahabad “not one dependent *gudi* or *sanggat*.” This account seems to show that there were in Buchanan-Hamilton’s time a considerable body of men recognized as Sikhs. As, however, the Singhas were scarcely found in Behar and Shahabad and there was not one “*gudi* or *sanggat*” of theirs in either of the two districts, and as the Agraharis of Sasaram mostly claim to be Khalsa Sikhs or Singhs, it would appear that, even at that time, they had no connection with the body of Sikhs to whom Buchanan-Hamilton refers.

7. No satisfactory explanation of their origin is obtained, either from the accounts which the Agraharis themselves give of their caste or from their traditions about their migration to Sasaram. Their belief as to the origin of their caste is merely based on an attempt to explain the derivation of the name. Some, for instance, say that they are the descendants of one Agar, but no tradition attaches to this common ancestor and they cannot say who he was, where he lived, and what he did; others reject this account and allege that they are called Agraharis because their forefathers were men of Agra; while others again say that their caste name is due to the fact that their ancestors were originally labourers, who cut and sold the scented wood known as *agar*. As regards their presence in Sasaram, they explain that they migrated from Delhi and came to that place in the reign of Sher Shah (1540-1545 A.D.) and that they have been settled there for fourteen or fifteen generations. It does not appear that they have any intercourse with the Sikhs of the north or with any Agraharis up-country except with some very small colonies in Mirzapur. They intermarry with the latter; and it is probable that these men either left the main body of Agraharis on their march to the south or that they migrated

from Sasaram to Mirzapur after the first settlers had made their homes at the former place.

In view of the fact that they are for the most part followers of the Guru Govind Singh (1675-1708), it is difficult to credit their story that they settled in Sasaram so far back as the reign of Sher Shah; as it seems improbable that they would have received the doctrines of Sikhism so long after their original migration and in a place so far from the scene of the teaching of the great Guru. On the other hand, it is easy to understand why they should associate themselves with the reign of Sher Shah. That Emperor lived at Sasaram and was buried there; his great tomb still towers over the town; and his connection with it is a matter of considerable pride to the inhabitants. The natural tendency of the people, therefore, is to ascribe old buildings to him and to link traditions of descent with his residence there; and this may very possibly be the reason why the Agraharis connect their coming with that Emperor. At the same time there can be no doubt that the first immigrants of this caste came from the north, and the tradition to this effect is supported not only by their customs but also by their appearance; as their light complexion, clean-cut features and fine physique distinguish them from the other natives of the place and point to a northern origin.

8. They admit that when their forefathers first settled at Sasaram, they were men of no position. They came there, they say, as labourers or petty hucksters, and most of them used to perform *begari* till the time of the Mutiny. After that they prospered in trade, gained wealth by selling cloth and grain, and now are people of substance who travel all over Bengal to vend their goods. The access of wealth during the mutiny is easily understood. Sasaram was, at that time, a centre of disturbance. In 1857 it was attacked and plundered by a body of 2,000 rebels from Arrah; and the part played by the people in driving this force away was recognised by Government in officially giving the town the title of Sasaram Nasir-ul-hukkam, i.e., Sasaram the loyal town. Kuar Singh and Amr Singh with their followers infested the neighbourhood; troops were stationed in the town to quell these local disturbances and to meet marauding parties; and large bodies were constantly passing through it on their march to the north along the Grand Trunk Road. It is easy to perceive how shrewd dealers like the Agraharis would seize the opportunity which the provisioning of the troops presented; and it may fairly be inferred that they laid the foundation of their present wealth by supplying the requisitions of the army. The account of their degraded position before that time points however to a period of depression; and in the absence of any other plausible theory to account for their origin, a suggestion may be

hazarded that possibly they migrated from the north to escape from the stress of famine. When that migration took place, it is impossible to say. On the one hand we are faced with the fact that they declare that there have been fourteen generations of their caste in Sasaram. On the other hand, the probabilities of the case would appear to point to the fact that they were Sikhs who came to Sasaram after the advent of Govind Singh, as it is difficult on any other supposition to understand how when they were so far from the home of Sikhism they could have received the tenets introduced by that guru. One possible hypothesis which might be suggested to reconcile this discrepancy would be that the original body of settlers were a small body of followers of Nanak, and that they were subsequently reinforced by a fresh migration of Sikhs who had already accepted the ordinances of Govind Singh. This hypothesis has a shadow of probability in that it is not inconsistent with the account of the Agraharis themselves, that they have been settled in Sasaram for fourteen generations, and that it helps, to some extent, to account for the presence of the followers both of Nanak and of Govind Singh side by side in this small and isolated community.

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